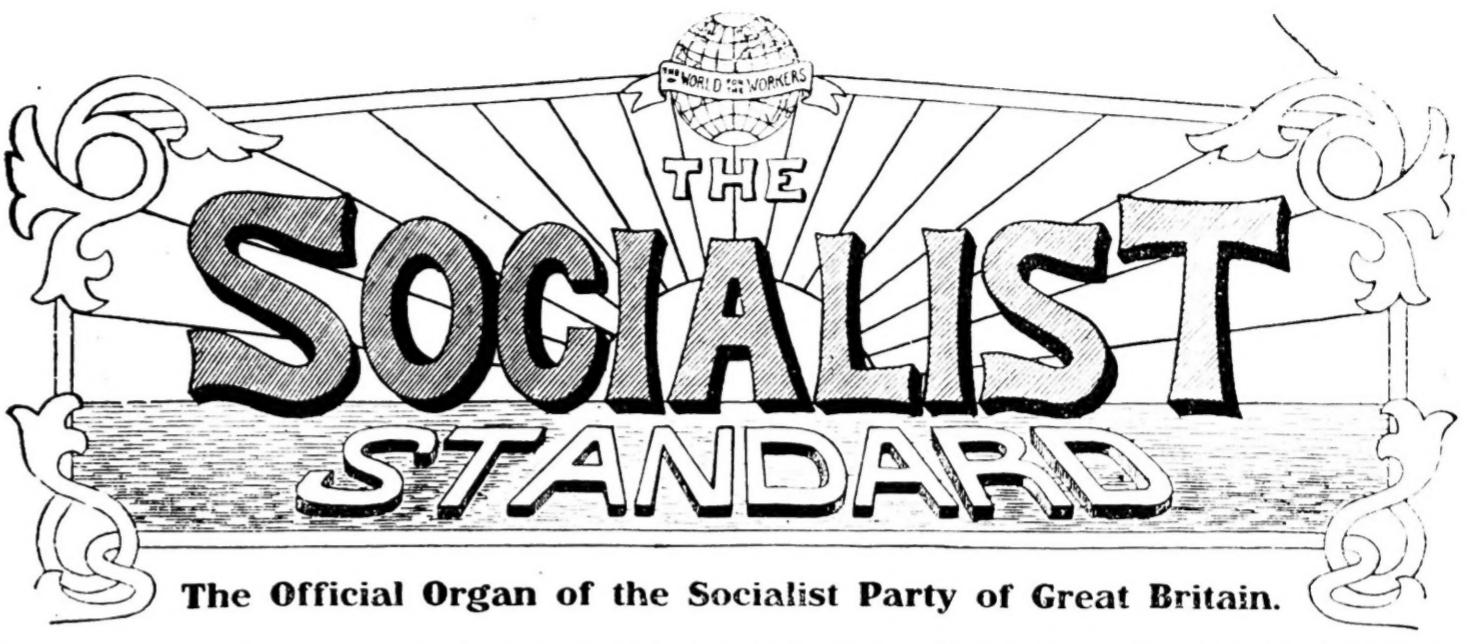


THE
**SOCIALIST
STANDARD**

1913



No. 101. VOL. 9.]

LONDON, JANUARY 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

THE PACE THAT KILLS. THE MODERN STREET TRAFFIC PROBLEM DISCUSSED.

"HURRY on, please!" is the catch phrase of the day. It expresses the salient characteristic—with or without the pleasure of every modern industrial centre, just as "Get on or get out!" sums up its in a brutal philosophy. In the roaring traffic of the highway, indeed, we have a vivid yet typical example of the headlong rush of this "non-stop" age.

Take modern road traffic, then, as a case in point. It illustrates the rapid yet enormous changes forced upon society by economic development, and it shows unmistakably how little the hireling worker profits by the wonderful mechanical progress his physical and mental labour has made possible.

The ubiquitous motor has made the dweller in the most distant hamlet familiar with its dust and dangers, but in London's streets the "motor peril" now reaches its apogee. Truly the motor is everywhere, but on the crowded roads of the metropolis its presence and speed have raised a problem for which the multitudinous highway authorities seek in vain a solution.

The streets are turned into slaughter yards, and it is no crime in the eyes of those who administer the law, for the motorist to slay the harmless passer-by. It is by far the cheapest form of murder, for it is scarcely too strong a statement to say that the motorist has practically been granted the right to slaughter any who dare to cross his path.

At inquests the motorist is almost always exonerated from blame—particularly if it is pointed out that he was sober. And even in those rare cases where this does not happen the penalty is a puerile censure, or a punishment ludicrously disproportionate to that which is inflicted when the murder is done other than with the aid of a motor.

Above all the conflicting and hysterical statements about the modern highways problem one thing is clear: that high speed is the chief bugbear. "It's the pace that kills." *Exceeding the speed that is safe in the particular circumstances* is the cause of most of the maiming and slaughter. Indeed, the law, as though it is, nominally establishes a speed limit. Yet motorists habitually exceed that limit. In fact, travelling at the legal limit is stigmatised as a "mere crawl." Moreover, it is not for

Way for the safety of the public that the corners are rounded and roads **Road Hog!** widened and straightened, but simply to allow greater speeds to be attained—with the inevitable consequence of a longer casualty list.

It is, further, an understood thing that the police never prosecute for exceeding the speed limit unless it is exceeded by over five miles, and very rarely even then. The car owner's most

frequent boast is of the speed at which his motor travels, and the rare fine is regarded as a certificate to the quality of his engine, and is a tribute to his childish vanity.

Despite the fact that most of those killed and maimed on the highways would still be safe and sound if a rational speed in the circumstances had been adhered to, representatives of motor associations fatuously assert that not high, but "low" speeds, are the concomitants of accident! And as though to support this risible doctrine, almost every motorist in the courts, contemptuous of the law relating to perjury, states his speed to have been at the time of the smash, between five and twelve miles an hour! That is the homage that vice pays to virtue!

Motoring magistrates are ever ready to condone the recklessness of the motorist, and sometimes even lecture pedestrians and cyclists on the nuisance and danger their existence on the road presents to the man behind the "petrol gun"! They reserve the vials of their wrath, however, for the urchin on a bicycle, whose crime was in enjoying an innocent "coast" down an incline at little more than half the legal speed limit for motors!

To such a pass have things come that the attitude of the average motorist is practically that the roads **Hog's Grunt** are his property, and that all **Translated**, others are trespassers, to be hooted off. "Get off the earth or I'll push you off!" is the sentiment expressed in the impudent howl of the motor syren.

Besides being the capitalist's instrument of profit, the motor is now his chief toy—or at least it runs his "blonde" or his "brune" very close for pride of place in that connection—and to the arrogance engendered by the possession of the most powerful and speedy thing on the road is added the arrogance of wealth and class. The result is a growing contempt and intolerance on the part of the motorist toward the weaker users of the road, mitigated only faintly by spasmodic reprisals and agitations on the part of the latter.

But why go on? It is neither necessary nor advisable to recount at length the manifold abuses of the motor vehicle—the simplest statement of fact suffices.

Yet the petrol engine is a marvellously efficient instrument, and in its further development its possibilities are great for humanity. The simple question to be emphasised then arises—why should an undoubted mechanical advance spell greater discomfort, toil, and danger to the workers?

It would be quixotic, or worse, to attempt to stop the development of motor traffic, and it would be equally futile to drag the red herring of the individual "reckless driver" and the exceptional "road hog" across the trail. The

trouble has deeper roots. The chauffeur, for example, must obey his master or be supplanted by a more obedient servant. The taxi-driver must keep up the earnings of his inciting cab or lose his livelihood. The employee of the motor-bus trust must keep carefully to his schedule times and maintain the earnings of his vehicle—indeed, his wage depends on the number of miles he can run. Thus it is that other road users suffer who are too weak to cope with the powerful motor.

Among the weakest of road users is the cyclist, and it so happens that the cycle is, above all others, the workers' vehicle; and those who employ it as the means of getting to and from their daily toil, know full well how the danger grows. But the bus driver, held by the trust to an inelastic time table, with his livelihood endangered if the takings of his vehicle and its daily mileage fall, is economically compelled to make unscrupulous use of the power his motor gives him, to the detriment of others. Self-preservation makes him regard the slowly moving cyclist and pedestrian as obstacles to his livelihood, hindrances to the keeping of his time schedule, impediments to his speed in getting first to paying points on the route.

The type of mind engendered by such an economic position may be gauged from the complaint of a motor bus-driver, at a South London inquest on a victim, with regard to cyclists, that "he frequently had to give way to them."

Not always, evidently. Indeed, when pedestrian or cyclist is killed, well, "accidents will happen," and there is an obstacle the less on the road, while after all, coroners are indulgent. If a cyclist is scared off, he becomes a passenger for the bus, and another source of profit for the trust—a trust which, by the way, has the sublime effrontry to pose, in an official letter to the Press, as jealous of its "reputation as the guardian of the public safety." Gordeus!

Of course, if every human being killed or injured by their agency was made to cause such a heavy monetary loss to the transport companies that it outweighed the profitableness of high speed and reckless driving, then the massacre would cease. But is anyone so simple as to believe this will be done? Can thugs be relied upon to prohibit murder?

A It is motor owners who legislate. **Profitable** What avails human life when put into the scales against dividends? **"Remedy."** Indeed, the attempt to make human life of more account than profits would be howled down as a dastardly, senseless, revolutionary attack upon the sacred rights of property. **No.** Whatever "reforms" may be inaugurated will not diminish, but may increase, profits. A limitation of further bus licences is

already semi-officially foreshadowed, and worked for. This would mean the granting of a permanent monopoly against the public to the existing trust, and the exclusion of fresh competition, without any guarantee for public safety or convenience.

But is this question of the killing and maiming by motors the only one, or even the most important? Obviously it is not; and it is only dealt with here because it is but a symptom. It is true that nearly 150 persons have been killed outright by the motor-bus trust in the metropolitan areas alone during the past year. That is terrible enough; but have not equal numbers of workers been sacrificed at one fell swoop in preventable colliery disasters—not this year alone, but every year? And should we have heard so much about the motor-bus slaughter had it not suited the purpose of a set of office-hunters to make political capital out of it on behalf of that cheerless piece of humbug, "the people's trams"?

There is, however, no need to belittle in any way the facts relating to the motor peril. They are appalling. But the rest is more terrible still. The one is but the manifestation of the greater evil, for the sinister result of modern traffic conditions has a deeper meaning than is realised or expressed by commentators in the Press. It signifies the growing pace and intensity of industrial life, the universal acceleration of production, and the decreasing value of the life of the worker when put in the balance against the pleasure or profit of the class that owns the country. The huge and increasing size of industrial centres, and the greater distances between the workers' home and the factory, the need for more quickly transferring labour, the greed of the rack-renter of the central districts, the knowledge that the workers' "time is money" to the capitalist, the rush for profits of a transport trust, and the all pervading atmosphere of hustle, recklessness, and speed that is engendered by capitalist greed and the ever-increasing, world-wide competition—all these are symptoms of the deep-lying social malady.

It is not very long ago that miners were entombed in a burning mine by bricking up the mouth of the pit in order to save the property! No! the sacrifice of human life on the road is not an isolated phenomenon. The drowning of seamen for the sake of a few extra tons of cargo consequent on the raising of the load-line by a Liberal Board of Trade; the killing and maiming of an enormous and increasing number of workers in mine and factory for the sake of extra output and extra profit; and the toll of life taken on the highways for the sake of the profit or pleasure of accelerated transport, are all phases of the same fact. Men are the slaves of the machines they have created.

Modern machines, in their marvellous precision, complexity, and swiftness, bring with them the possibility, the material groundwork, of greater leisure, and the provision of the good things of life in ever-increasing abundance. Yet the only reward of those who toil is more intense labour, a less secure position, greater hardships and dangers, and a shortened life. Out of good cometh evil? Why? Because those who work are hirelings, while those who toil not own. The machine supplants the hireling, makes him redundant, and starves him instead of feeding him. The new machines and higher speeds only increase the wealth of the parasitic owner, enabling him to discharge more wage-labourers, reduce wages, and intensify toil. Thus it is that instruments capable of dispensing wealth and leisure to all, impoverish and overwork the many. Thus it is that the triumphant advance of technology has only carried our class on to ever more painful labours. We are victims of the machine only because we are the hirelings of the class that owns it. The evolution of industry leads us on, and we struggle painfully to adapt ourselves to its steps. Hitherto the workers have neglected the one needed step—the democratic ownership and control of all industrial machinery.

Speed and concentration are the order of the day. But the London transport trust, while it provides the example of the disease, hints at the only remedy. Industry after industry has developed to the trust stage, and has shown us plainly that since those who produce now run the machinery and organise industry—for ab-

sente shareholders—they are demonstrably capable of running production for themselves! Surely the time when they will do so is near at hand! The need, the possibility, and the economic foundation of Socialism are manifestly present.

Industrial advance places the means of socialised production within the workers' reach, and their daily trials and difficulties must open their eyes to the supreme need of realising that possibility, and of wresting the power to control from those who now usurp it. Then they will resume control of their means of life, becoming the masters of the tool of production instead of remaining enslaved; and will for the first time be able to utilise technical progress humanly and intelligently, to provide more leisure and a completer life for all.

But so long as class ownership remains, for just so long will the long list of killed and maimed continue to grow, and all remediable measures fail to keep pace with the break-neck speeding up of our daily tasks. Already we are becoming inured to the motor murders as to the butchery in other spheres of industry. The sudden development of the road motor "within the memory of a schoolboy" has struck the popular imagination, leaving scarce headed other and more deadly fields. But soon this too will pall, and the great problem as a whole will only press more surely for solution.

Hustle and worry, then, will continue to be the worker's lot; danger, suffering, and want dog his footsteps ever more closely, until, in the fulness of time, the scales shall fall from his eyes and he shall see how frail his fetters are. And when he feels his mighty strength, and at long last sees its obvious use, woe betide the parasites who have batten on his sweat and blood in the long night of his blindness and ignorance!

F. C. W.

SOCIALISM AND "SCIENCE."

SPENCER and Huxley, Tyndall and Lewes, Darwin and Buckle, are names coupled with science in the fighting stage, battling against the learned champions of ignorance, the clergy, and the Church. But Science to-day is in a bad way. She no longer battles for her existence against a militant clergy, but sleeps beneath their caresses. The progressive materialism of an earlier time has gone out of fashion, and our scientists now talk mysteriously and darkly about thought-waves and telepathy, discarnate souls and such immaterial subjects. Witches and magic, demons and angels, that we had confidently supposed had been laid for ever with the other ghosts of popular superstitions, have crept up again under the patronage of "scientific" men.

The education and organisation of the workers for this great purpose is the work of Socialists. No "saviour from on high" will help us. All the "saviours" of the past, and their current representatives, are on the side of the powers that be; and there is no reason for supposing that the future will differ from the past in the part the priesthood, in its widest sense, will play in the social struggle. That science—or rather, the scientists, with some commendable exceptions—are hobnobbing with the mystics is but another indication of the union of the forces of capitalism in every field, that points to the rapidly approaching time when the consolidated forces of organised class-conscious labour will meet the existing order for the last bout.

Then will be required all the strength of the Socialist demand. The more Socialism is overlaid with excrescences and absurdities the more chance is there for Socialism to suffer. The more simple the Socialist demand is kept the greater is the concentration on the essential point. Against the central citadel of Socialism all the thunder of capitalism's politicians, preachers, and wizards will break in vain.

"ENGINEER."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc. var.).
- "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "The New World" (West Ham).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).

THE "WAR" AGAINST POVERTY.

ANYONE who has followed the Press during the last few weeks will have been struck by the iteration, day after day, of certain articles in bold type, announcing to a more or less interested world, the fact that we are in the midst of a "Great Trade Boom," and that we are also engaged in a great "War Against Poverty."

As is usually the case, the capitalist newspapers have tumbled over each other, as it were, in their efforts to prove to all and sundry what a glorious condition of prosperity the workers are enjoying. They have also been ably assisted in these efforts by journals professing especial sympathy with labour, which is a gratifying feature—to the capitalists.

Among others, Mr. Chiozza Money and the "Daily News" have been at great pains to show what wonderful records have been created, both in imports and exports, with a consequent increase in wages.

This may appear all right to the "man in the street," who doesn't trouble to analyse these statements, but simply reads his daily paper and swallows all that it dishes up.

As a matter of fact, however, during the last fifteen years, wages—that is, *real* wages—have actually decreased seven per cent. The average income of those "who toil not" during the same period has increased by over four times as much!

According to Mr. Money "the worker is getting a share of the increased product of industry." Maybe! But Mr. Money omits to point out that, relatively to the cost of living, the workers are worse off than they were twenty-five years ago. Instead of the workers being more contented and looking brightly forward to what Mr. Money terms "the good new times," their outlook is blacker and their condition more precarious than ever.

The "Daily Mail" (3.12.12) endeavours to explain the cause of this "boom" in trade. "The growing output of gold," they say, "the increase in credit which has accompanied it, and the advance in production with the help of the modern application of electricity, are probable and practical factors."

Now, if anyone had asked the writer what, in his opinion, was the cause of the increased misery of the workers, a better explanation could hardly have been furnished than that supplied by the "Daily Mail" to explain quite another point. The only difference is the point of view. Whereas the "Daily Mail" seeks to show that the "boom" benefits everybody, this is not really the case. Only the capitalist class is benefited. Gold production has increased enormously during the last half-century, due to improved methods of production. As a consequence of this the value of gold has fallen. Thus gold being cheaper, more of it is required in order to exchange for any given commodity than formerly—assuming, of course, that the value of other commodities remains the same.

This depreciation in the value of gold means high prices, hence a decline in the purchasing power of money. On the other hand, owing to the constant improvement of machinery, with its inevitable resulting army of unemployed, it cannot be said that "booms" in the long run benefit the workers. Cases there are where workers have been put on overtime, and others given jobs, in order to cope with a rush of trade, but trade "booms" are at the best only temporary, and are invariably followed by periods of depression due to over production. Even at the time of writing indications are not wanting that portend an early breakdown. This, of course, will mean a further augmentation of the unemployed army.

The inability of the workers to buy back that which they have produced results in a glut of the market, and we have the spectacle of thousands of men, women, and children going hungry and ill clad, simply through having produced too much! This apparently involves a contradiction, but to the student of social conditions its truth is terribly plain. And this condition, I might point out, is inevitable under a system wherein goods are produced for profit instead of use.

These are facts that the average social reformer doesn't trouble to enquire very deeply

into. He believes that by pressing for legislation to the capitalist class, who control and administer the political machinery in addition to controlling the machinery of industry, we can gain immunity from the depredations of that class!

All the so-called remedies for the elimination of poverty that are at the present time being shouted all over the country by the "war against poverty" campaigners and others, betray the deplorable fact that even the "leaders" themselves don't know the commonsense principles upon which a working class movement should be based. This is inexplicable in view of the fact that the *real* solution of the poverty "problem" is as easy to understand as falling off a log. The solution lies in Socialism. This, as a rule, is outside the vocabulary of the average labour leader, who generally has some axe or other to grind.

Let us take a glance at some of their so-called remedies.

There are several reform parties in the field, and prominent among them is the I.L.P., with its cry of "War Against Poverty!" They in turn are assisted by the B.S.P., Co-operative Unions, Women's Guilds, and other freak organisations—in fact, anybody and everybody so long as they keep Socialism obscured.

One of the points aimed at is the establishment of a legal Minimum Wage. Will this alleviate poverty in any degree? Let us see.

Money, being a commodity, is subject to the same laws as any other commodity. Its exchange-value varies. As its value increases or decreases its purchasing power is higher or lower as the case may be. Given a legal Minimum Wage of a fixed amount of money, and the continued rise in the cost of living, and in a short time the minimum would represent a greater depth of poverty than unrestricted wages give to day.

It is true that the reformers at their various meetings have added amendments to the resolutions, calling for a rise in the minimum if the cost of living rose, but one can hardly conceive any government establishing a minimum wage that had to be periodically adjusted to rising or falling prices.

But even if they did, the operation of economic law (as has been shown in the columns of this journal) must inevitably defeat the object of the reform. Substantiation of this comes from Australia, where the establishment of a Minimum Wage has led to the wholesale dismissal of men who are no longer young and active, and has intensified the struggle all round.

The Minimum Wage is a snare and a delusion, intended to lure the working class into supporting the Liberals. It is unscientific and calculated to lead the workers into the bog of false economics.

The B.S.P. are in the same boat as the I.L.P., for they claim that "the legal enactment of a Minimum Wage for all adult workers, a maximum working week, and maximum prices of commodities are proposals advocated by the (then) S.D.P., which clearly indicate the revolutionary nature of their policy." ("Justice," 22.7.11.)

Just how far such a policy is revolutionary may be judged by the statement of Sir George Askwith (known as "the strike-breaker") at a meeting held by Mr. Harold Cox only the other day. "In a comparatively short time," said Sir George, "we might be face to face with the grave consideration of the question of a general minimum wage." So, whether we "demand" it or not, it is quite conceivable that we shall be forced to have it—in the interest of the master class.

Another "demand" is for an Eight Hour Day. This needs very little examination in order to show the "benefits" accruing from it. The speeding up that has resulted from its introduction in such places as Brunner Mond's, Nather & Platt's, and various municipal bodies is well known. Such firms afford fine examples of the hours being reduced without in any way curtailing the output.

Any worker engaged on an eight hours a day job will testify as to who benefits by the restriction of hours. Only recently the hours on the Birmingham Tramway System were reduced from 60 to 54. This has since been nullified to a great extent by "speeding up" the journeys, and the men complain that they are as badly off as before. Cases could be quoted where

hours have been reduced from 10 to 7½, and yet the actual output has been the same.

In 1911 151,056 workers had their working time reduced, yet we find that the total production was greater than in 1910. Clearly an eight hours day will not benefit the mass of the workers.

"Provision for School Children" is another item which provides an example of tinkering with effects without removing the causes. How much better would it not be to endeavour to understand the *cause* of child misery, and work for its removal, instead of advocating fatuous reforms that have only the effect of blinding the workers with false hope! In the application of applying salve to the social boil, why not purify the system, and thus eradicate disease?

Children should be well fed, and well clothed but, to be expected that the capitalist class will abolish poverty when such a condition is absolutely inseparable for their position of social dominance.

When the workers can be got to recognise that the cause of all poverty and social misery is the control by one class over the means of life of the other, the end of poverty will be in sight. Poverty has no need to exist, but until the working man ceases to vote his master into political power, so long will it continue.

Any of the reforms enumerated above can be applied without in the least effecting any permanent improvement in the lot of the workers. They are essentially capitalistic, and as such should be emphatically denounced by the Socialist, who sees in Socialism the only remedy.

The opportunities for studying Socialism are open to everybody, and when we find so called labour leaders heading in a different direction, we are forced to the conclusion that it is against their interest to abolish capitalism. Indeed, they aim only at propitiating it, for they claim that they wish to get "the best" out of the system. We have continued to point this out, and experience has verified our judgment. Such a policy has no place in the propaganda of a Socialist party. The issue—freedom or slavery—is too clear for that.

Both the B.S.P. and the I.L.P. believe and teach that capital would exist under Socialism, and also that wages would be paid and that government would continue. No wonder the "rank and file" are politically blind, when they are taught to believe that the conditions essential for the introduction of Socialism are identical with those necessary to capitalism.

The strewing of the path with these red herrings, fouling the trail, as it were, of Socialist propaganda, renders the work of the Socialist more difficult, but whilst it may, in a small sense, retard the ultimate realisation of Socialism, it cannot expunge its principles or prevent its final triumph.

There is only one party that is engaged in a real war against poverty—that party is the Socialist Party. Being a Socialist Party, all our efforts are logically centred upon Socialism. It is to the interest of the workers to rally under its flag, and help to speed the day when we shall have gained the right to live, when those who create the wealth shall enjoy it, when every man, woman, and child shall have the opportunity to develop to the fullest extent their human powers, and thus, for the first time since the dawn of history, realise the true meaning of life.

Tom SALA.

TRUTH OR LIBEL?

On a previous occasion the men on the North Eastern Railway kicked over the traces. They were induced to return to work on the masters' terms against their own wishes, through the negotiations of their leaders. They protested they had been sold. We said in the columns of the SOCIALIST STANDARD that they had been sold, and were sued for libel in consequence.

On this occasion the men of the N.E.R. are induced to return to work after being fined for the days off they have had without leave. This time the "Daily Herald" says they have been sold, and adds "as usual." Will there be another libel action, or is the "Daily Herald" not taken as seriously as the SOCIALIST STANDARD?

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, —The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money orders should be made payable.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free ... 1s. 6d.
Six " " " " " 9d.

The Socialist Standard,



WE'N'DAY JAN. 1, 1913.

OURSELVES AND THE S.L.P.

In the fifth edition of the Manifesto of the Socialist Party of Great Britain we point out, in reference to the S.L.P., that "its founders did not comprehend the real significance of the revolutionary struggle," and a glance at the rambling record of that organisation will prove conclusively that, as a party, it is to-day as ignorant of the revolutionary rôle as were its founders at its inception.

Pinning its faith to political action alone, and advocating a series of capitalist reforms, the S.L.P. for a time tried to ignore the "economic field," then realising the error of this, they declared for Socialist Trade Unions, and instructed their Executive to proceed with the formation of the same.

They also realised the stupidity of reformmongering, and, dropping their palliatives, they denounced all reforms as useless and reactionary. At this stage there seemed to be a slight prospect that the S.L.P. might see the Socialist light, but, unfortunately, a few Anarchist spasms in the "Labour movement" in America gave birth to an "Industrial Workers of the World."

This sounded big, and the S.L.P. were carried further adrift. Denying their previous declaration in favour of Socialist Trade Unions, they endorsed the American I.W.W., and gaily proceeded to denounce all Trade Unions as effete.

The new method — Industrial Unionism — became the Alpha and Omega of their "philosophy." Political Action was thrown overboard, and the workers were told to "take and hold" on the economic field, and thus emancipate themselves. "Direct action," "sabotage," and other Anarchist theories got such hold of their members that a vote was taken to find out how many were Anarchists, but the result was never published.

However, to be in something "big," the S.L.P. on the economic field does not now scruple to call comrades those they previously denounced as fakirs, and who, on the political field, they called "unclean," while, to allow to enter the S.L.P. itself those they previously strove to keep out, an alteration has been made in the hitherto "too rigid" constitution!

How the weak have wobbled! As the self-styled "fighting S.L.P." (with uplifted arm and hammer as their motto) they originally claimed to be the *only* Socialist party, and declared themselves to be out to *smash* all but themselves. Their fighting propensities however proved to be but vulgar abuse and puerile personalities, and eventually tiring of these, the "fighting S.L.P." has become the frightened S.L.P., and solicits, cap in hand, the co-operation of *all sections* of the working class, as the correspondence published hereunder will show.

SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

53 Waverley Road, Reading.
November 1912.

Dear Sir, — I am directed by the National Exec-

tive Council of the above Party to write to you with reference to the present situation in the Balkan Peninsula.

The position is admittedly critical, and there is every indication of the European powers being involved, and then a grave danger of a European War.

Such a war would prove highly reactionary to the progression of the Working Class. My Executive are of opinion that every possible means should be taken to prevent such a disaster, and they believe the occasion is one calling forth a strong agitation against war.

Such an agitation to be effective must be carried out on a large scale, and could only be brought about by the co-operation of all sections of the Working Class Movement.

My Committee think the existence of differences of opinion in the various organisations should not prevent a common agreement on this matter.

I am directed therefore to approach the various organisations in Great Britain with a view of securing their co-operation for the following proposals:

(1) The formation of Committees co-opted of members of the various organisations in every district for the dissemination of non-military literature, and for holding meetings and demonstrations in opposition to the butchery of war.

(2) The formation of central committees to supervise the agitation and to communicate with the International Socialist Bureau, requesting their assistance upon similar lines throughout the European countries.

I shall be glad to hear from you if your organisation is prepared to co-operate in carrying out such a scheme. If so, we suggest that a conference be called as early as convenient, wherein the whole matter might be worked out in detail.

Hoping to receive an early reply,

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
(Signed) L. COTTON,
Nat. Secy. S.L.P.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

193 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.
11 December, 1912.

To L. Cotton,
National Secretary S.L.P.,

Reading.

Dear Sir,—Your letter, addressed to us by direction of your National Executive, inviting the Socialist Party of Great Britain to co-operate in some form of an Anti-War campaign, was read to the Executive of that Party at its meeting last night, and instruction was given for the following reply.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain declines your invitation.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain refuses to suspend its propaganda of Socialism, its intelligent prosecution of the Class War, to join with those who may be prepared to "shout" against wars far away, yet are often found ready to deny the existence of the greater war—the Class Struggle—here at home. The Socialist Party knows that wars are a feature of Capitalism. When the Socialist Party is strong enough to prevent war it will be strong enough to overthrow Capitalism; meantime it can only protest against both, but it dare not betray Socialism by uniting with defenders of Capitalism to protest against a feature of that system.

What simpletons your Executive Committee must be if they seriously believe that those of the master class who have the power of forcing war, or of declaring peace, would be gulled by any protest emanating from such a group of mutually warring elements as you propose to suddenly call together.

Your desire to be in something "on a large scale"—the thirst for publicity and notoriety—should not be allowed to blind you to the fact that the master class are quite capable of appreciating a protest at its real worth. They know (as we know) that the only protest they need ever fear, is the protest of the class-conscious workers organised in the Socialist Party. That protest has been, and is still being, made in our Press and from our platform, and its effect must

be to bring the real public, the 15 millions of workers, into the light. If it is true that the railway magnates are so deeply concerned with safeguarding the interest of the *real* (as distinct from the newspaper) public, why don't they make a start with their own employees? One can

January, 1913.

not be impaired by our joining with those who do not understand. Those who would be *with us* must be with us for Socialism; if not, they are against us, and between such there can be *no co-operation, no compromise*.

On behalf of the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party of Great Britain,
A. L. Cox,
General Secretary pro. tem.

THE LATEST RAILWAY TREACHERY.

AFTER repeated unsuccessful efforts to gain redress for some of their grievances, the Railwaymen, sick of the fraudulent Conciliation Boards, have, as a gage of defiance to the unholly crew who boss the N. Eastern system, once more resorted to the weapon of the strike.

The ostensible cause of the trouble was the insolent attempt of the masters to victimise a man against whom they had a grudge, but the real cause was a bitter resentment against the sinister attempt of the capitalists to regulate the leisure, as well as the working hours, of their men.

As is always the case when the working man chafes against the chains of his slavery, the paid liars of the Liberal and Tory Press have indulged in an orgy of insinuation and vituperation. The "Standard," shrieking in simulated indignation, declared it "a strike for the right to get drunk"; the "Pall Mall Gazette," anxious to contribute its quota of dirt, purloined the war whoop of the "Standard"; the "Daily Mirror" mirrored its own dirty soul in a filthy cartoon; the "Daily Mail," aping the characteristics of its lord and master, asked in a tone of unctuous hypocrisy, "Do the trade unions of this country stand up for the right to get drunk?"

The Liberal Press, not to be outdone in the use of the muck-rake, rose equally to the occasion, asserting that the strikers were "practically fighting for the right of the railway workers to endanger the safety of the public," and so on. In every case the suggestion was that the men were blatantly in the wrong; that they *knew* they were wrong, and were simply trying to bluff through it; that an irresponsible mob were determined to upset everything until the right to get drunk was conceded; and that they had chosen one of the busiest times of the year to irritate and annoy a long-suffering public as much as possible.

We are not concerned here as to whether a man may get drunk or not. What we are concerned with is, first the sham pretence of safeguarding the interests of the public offered by the railway company, as an excuse for their summary action in regard to Knox, and secondly the lesson to be learned from this latest manifestation of industrial unrest.

We are always told, on the occasion of a big strike, that the "public" must be considered. In the railway strike of '11, in the Transport Workers' strike and during the Miners' strike, the capitalist Press at once struck this note, and used it to smash the men. It is always the "public" that have to be considered, and never the men on strike; and if one thinks for a moment one will find it a pretence reeking with hypocrisy, and deadly dangerous to the working class.

Why should we consider the "public"? When have they ever considered us? When we were bullied and browbeaten, when we toiled in dangerous occupations, suffering daily loss of life and limb, when we sold the last stick and our little ones cried to us for bread, did the "public" help us? Did they think of us? Did they try ever so little to visualise for themselves our daily lives, or weigh in impartial scales our statements and our demands? Did they not, on the contrary, prejudge us from the statements of our enemies, and lose no opportunity to sneer at our attempts to improve our position? Why, then, should we consider the public about which the unclean Press is so deeply concerned, and which is in reality the master class itself, with its myriad soulless, toadying legal, political, and clerical hacks.

The real public, the 15 millions of workers, are never considered at all. If it is true that the railway magnates are so deeply concerned with safeguarding the interest of the *real* (as distinct from the newspaper) public, why don't they make a start with their own employees? One can

January, 1913.

see how little the railway capitalists are concerned to safeguard the interest of that large section of the real public it has under its immediate control, when one considers the number of preventable "accidents" which occur amongst railway employees. These have averaged nearly 500 (fatal) per annum during the last ten years, while the number of non-fatal "accidents" increased from 13,612 in 1902 to 27,848 in 1911.

It is common knowledge that this increase is due to the worsening of the conditions under which this dangerous occupation is carried on, and the murderous method of coupling and uncoupling. For over twenty years the railway companies have had at their disposal an automatic coupling which would reduce almost to zero the accidents under this heading, but they prefer to murder men wholesale rather than minimise their blood-stained profits.

Again, the net profits of the railway companies during 1910 were £47,356,000, and in 1911 they increased by another 1½ millions. During this time the wages paid by the fifteen principle companies to *all* their employees was £23,425,000 annually, so that while they publish figures showing that they can only pay a dividend of some 3½ per cent. (omitting the fact that this is on inflated capital), yet the actual rate at which the workers are robbed in this industry is 200 per cent. And yet when the men kick against the pricks the liars of modern journalism denounce them and use every weapon they can invent for the purpose of injuring their cause.

Another aspect of this matter is that, in spite of the spirit of comradeship and determination, the men have lost. They lost because, not having gained the knowledge they should have gained from the experiences of 1907 and 1911, they allowed the bosses of Unity House, the "leaders" who always lead to disaster, to take the conduct of affairs out of their hands. These "leaders," annoyed that their requests had not been complied with, declared to the capitalist Press that the strike was "unauthorised and unrecognised," and while giving this information to the men's enemies (who naturally at once used it) they and their local underlings met in solemn conclave, and refused to give the men any information until the "settlement" was reached, when once again it was found that the men had been handed over to the masters bound and helpless.

True there was a Pyrrhic victory over the reinstatement of Knox, but the men were thus justified in their action only completed the victory of the masters.

Let us look at the strange document the men's "leaders" have bound them to observe.

Clause 3 binds the men "to work amicably with and not molest non-strikers." Here you have officials paid to defend the principles of Trade Unionism, deliberately betraying them by insisting upon amicable working relations with the very men who render futile the efforts of other men to improve their position.

Clause 4 is even more dastardly. In this the "leaders" have deliberately agreed, without the slightest reference to the men themselves, to allow the company to penalise the men a week's pay for defending a cause that was admittedly just. Moreover, not content with this, they actually proceed to insult the men, telling them that they should not strike without giving legal notice to the company, refusing strike pay for the period of the struggle, and giving their personal undertaking that they will use their influence to prevent the men from striking. In a word, they agreed to every insult formulated by the masters, mindful of nothing else than humbling those who had dared to strike without their permission. If this is not one of the foul betrayals in the history of Trade Unionism, then words have no meaning.

And this is the thing called a "settlement." No wonder the General Secretary of the A.S.R.S. expressed himself "greatly satisfied"! No wonder the men declared they were "sold again"!

How long are the men going to stand it? Are they going to take this kind of thing lying down? We hope and believe not. But while this is our hope, while we welcome every manifestation of antagonism by the workers against those who exploit them, yet we would ask them to remember that decisive victory does not lie in the direction of strikes, whether sectional, spasmodic, or general—the masters are too powerful for that. For the forces placed in their hands by industrial development, the terrible army of

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

the unemployed, the power of a menial Press, and the whole might of the armed State, always at their disposal if required, places strict limits upon the success of the strike. The weapon of the strike may gain a concession here and there, but not only is the advantage soon counteracted by the operation of economic development, but the strike itself never seriously jeopardises for one moment the system of exploitation, tyranny, slavery, and oppression pressing so heavily on the world's workers to-day.

What, therefore, the railwaymen and all other workers must do if they hope for freedom, is to understand their position, to obtain a clear knowledge of the forces that keep them in slavery. When they understand this, when to this knowledge there is allied the determination to wrest from the hands of the masters the power which alone enables them to rule and mould men's lives to their own unholly purpose—the political power—then will the necessity for the strike cease, for the cause will have vanished.

And that cause, against which the workers must show a united purpose and a pitiless determination, is the domination of one class, an idle, useless, and vicious class, and the consequent degradation, poverty, and servitude of the useful workers. F. V.

BIBLES, BAYONETS, AND BACILLI.

THE Socialist, in his war upon capitalism and its defenders, soon discovers that religion is an important bulwark of the enemy. In the preface to the S.P.G.B. pamphlet "Socialism and Religion" attention is drawn to a Nonconformist boast regarding the commercial value of "missions to the heathen."

Further testimony as to the merits or demerits of missionary enterprise is furnished from time to time by explorers, government officials, and such like interesting personalities.

Thus Col. Sam Hughes, Canadian Minister, addressing the Canadian Club of New York (11th Nov.), said that "Britain and her colonies will stand together in the upbuilding of humanity the world over," and told how some of the upbuilding is done. He declared that "in all his travels he has observed that the missionary with his bible and the bayonet went hand in hand in the promotion of civilisation."

The colonel does but voice the claim of his class—the pretence that capitalist civilisation is best in the interest of mankind at large, Putumayo and Cradley Heath included. Certainly it suits capitalist interest well enough, and consequently the part played by the Church missionary in its promotion must have due recognition.

To be sure, the *theoretic* meekness and "love" of Christian teaching assorts but ill with the murderous bayonet; but history and Christian practice reconcile them easily at the dictates of material interests and social predominance.

Yes, Capital knows the worth—to capital—of the Christian missionary, and pays for services rendered; and many are the decimated peoples who have cause to rue the day when first they knew that purveyor of new delusions for old.

But a cruel blow has been struck at the humanitarian pretences of the missionary by the explorer Stefansson (employed by the New York Museum of Natural History), discoverer of the blonde Esquimaux. He points out that primitive peoples are so nicely adjusted to their often harsh environment that the slightest disturbance suffices to destroy their conditions of survival, that is, to kill them off. He shows how the Esquimaux who have been brought under the influence of white men have been almost wiped out by measles and such-like diseases; and he pleads that the newly discovered people shall be protected from the interference of civilisation, and particularly that the missionary, as an undesirable, be kept away.

Mr Stefansson argues that a live heathen Esquimaux is better than a dead baptised one. Col. Sam Hughes' bayonet-aided upbuilder of humanity may not agree—but then Torquemada had little use for live heretics!

JOHN H. HALLS.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

The Party's Head Office is now at

193, GRAYS INN RD., LONDON, W.C.

1913. JANUARY THE FIRST.

ONCE again we reach the First of January. Once again we are deluged with the hypocritical cant and humbug of the phrase "Peace and Goodwill." As in the past, our ears are greeted with "A Happy and Prosperous New Year." The whole world, from duke to dustman, mouths the meaningless nothing.

What are the prospects of a happy New Year for the working class? What room is there in capitalism for peace and goodwill, when the very prosperity of the one depends upon the ruin of some other? Happiness cannot come with hunger, and many *must* be without food. And why are not you one of these? It is simply because circumstances have decreed that some other shall be idle instead of you.

The best that can happen for the underpaid clerk—his one hope of prosperity—is the death or discharge of his fellow employee who receives the higher salary he aspires to. The best that can befall the struggling tradesman is the failure of the man across the road who halves his trade and cuts his prices. During the season's "boom" the factory has been working full time, and producing a vast store of goods, much of which will not be disposed of. After the "boom" someone must go, and each looks at the other with the good wishes on his lips, hoping against hope that it is the other man who will be discharged.

And we wish each other a prosperous New Year! What can't!

What have the workers to look forward to in 1913? Great increases in wealth production, doubtless, and the consequent unemployment that "over production" brings in its train. "Trade has been phenomenally good" our masters' journals tell us. But how stand the producers of the wealth?

The Thames Iron Works closes its gates on the eve of Christmas, and thousands of families that are "always on the verge" are pushed into

as a bogey wherewith to frighten the "prosperous citizen."

These donations are regarded by the panniky bourgeoisie as being in the nature of "good investments." It is the modern obedience to the ancient injunction to "cast thy bread upon the waters." For the well to do are told by the bishops and the smaller fry of the Church, what is the undoubted truth, viz., that "the East End would not take things so quietly were it not for religion," and that these institutions are a "strong barrier" against the "Godless Socialism" they so much dread.

The lot of the artisan and the labourer is no better to-day than it was ten or twenty years ago. In the words of Mr. Bonar Law: "In spite of a vast increase in the wealth of the world and of the United Kingdom, the condition of the workmen in this country has not improved. It has grown worse." (Glasgow, 22.5.12.)

From all sides we get the admission, not only that "wages have not increased at all between 1900-1910, but that, indeed, they have suffered a depression in the interval." ("Daily News.") The "Daily News," which represents the view of the party in power, tells us in a leading article (17.9.12) that, despite the glories of Free Trade, they are forced to "arrive at the disquieting fact that the net result to labour of an industrial prosperity which is unexampled is that the working-classes are substantially worse off than they were in 1900."

This significant conclusion arrived at by such defenders of capitalism as Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Lloyd George, the "Daily News," and other prominent people and leading papers too numerous to mention, does not take into consideration an all-important condition that must be taken into account. That is that during the period mentioned, those who have been engaged in actual production have had their labour vastly intensified. Year by year new machinery has been introduced to compete with and speed up the labourer. Year by year new methods are taken up with the object of eliminating those rapidly diminishing moments of rest which the workers are able to snatch from their toil. Day by day the machine is driven faster, and the result has been that a gigantic amount of energy is sucked out of the worker in a shorter working day.

Even such a defender of "reformed" capitalism as Mr. Thomas, of the railway servants, is compelled to admit that "more passengers and goods traffic could now be handled in eight hours than formerly could be handled in ten."

To keep up this mad and increasing pace a greater amount of food and leisure is rendered necessary in order that the worker may be able to maintain himself in the required state of physical and mental efficiency. Some recreation is necessary in order that he may keep sane. The worker is to-day being burned out faster and more ruthlessly than ever he was. The pitiless, insatiable maw of the capitalist Moloch is ever grasping for more profits, and the blood of the toiler, it is very certain, will be even more greedily sucked in this new year now opening than it has been in the past.

And even though those benighted wights, the Labour reformers, with their multitudinous drops and pills and ointments, were both in power and in earnest the evil could neither be reformed out of existence nor held in the leash. It grows to fast for the first; it springs too irresistibly from the foundations of the prevailing system and method of wealth production for the second.

Is there, then, no hope? Can nothing be done to stem the tide of wasted life and labour? Is there no way of escape for the struggling wage slave, beggared and befooled by notions of trade and tariff? Stern necessity compels the answer—NONE. The very first step must be to clear the worker's mind of the cobwebs—of every befogging capitalist notion.

"You cannot redeem those below except by the sacrifice of those above." Thus spake Mr. Lloyd George not a great while ago. The words are true—let us adopt them, for in them lies the workers only hope.

SACRIFICE THOSE ABOVE. Pull them down. Overthrow their stronghold and trample on their privileges. Turn out the capitalist liar and fool, knave and bully. As a capitalist

he must go. While he is above he will feed on those below, and, fellow workers, WE ARE "THOSE BELOW."

The only hope for the wage slave is to abolish the wage slavery, root, branch and twig, and to take control of the things that are necessary for the lives, comfort, well-being, and happiness of those we hold dear. So lend a willing hand, fellow wage-slave, to this imperative task, in the year 1913. Learn to give intelligent utterance to the "unlearned discontent" that is within you, for only those who KNOW can ever hope to remove the barrier which alone bars our progress toward freedom, a full life, and happiness.

The determination to acquire the knowledge essential to this undertaking, to befit oneself to be an instrument for good in the great struggle for human emancipation, to make oneself an efficient and capable judge in the day when the whole future of humanity shall depend upon the wisdom of the working class, is the best of all possible New Year resolutions for working folk.

TWEL.

NEW S.P.G.B. PUBLICATION.

We have to announce that we have published a report of the debate which took place at Tooting on May 21st between our comrade, J. Fitzgerald and Mr. Samuel Samuels, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth, on the subject of "Socialism v. Tariff Reform." The pamphlet consists of 48 pages, and the price is—for democracy sake, 1d.

—.—

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT!

An Economic Class is held at the Head Office on Friday nights at 8 o'clock. Will those who have nothing to learn come and teach?

* * *

A Central Speakers' Class has been established in order to equip more comrades for the platform. The classes are held at the Head Office, 193, Gray's Inn Road, every Saturday evening at 7.30. It is urged upon all comrades to attend.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"American Socialism of the Present Day," by J. W. Hughe, Pl. D. London: John Lane. 7s. 6d. Aug. Bebel's "My Life," T. Fisher Unwin. 7s. 6d. "Experiments in Industrial Organisation," by Edward Cadbury. London: Longman & Co. 5s. net. (To be reviewed next issue.)

THE SOCIALIST PARTY

versus

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.
AND

A. H. RICHARDSON, M.P. (Peckham),

AT THE

LIBERAL CLUB, ELM GROVE, PECKHAM,
JUNE 1st, 1911.

Subject: Should the Working Class Support the Liberal Party?

Post Free 1½d.

ILFORD BRANCHS.P.G.B.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

Will be continued throughout the year.

EVERY SUNDAY EVENING

OPPOSITE

ILFORD STATION.

ALSO ON

THURSDAY EVENINGS

AT SAME SPOT.

FROM THE FRONT.

The "White Slave Bill" has passed. Liberals and Tories, Peers and Commons, parsons and priests, have united to the end of getting it passed, and they have accomplished their task.

The Bill is passed into law, with the approval of the sweaters of female labour, for whom it plays the friendly part of fixing the blame for the degradation of women on less guilty shoulders—but the "white slave" is as much in evidence as ever.

After clamouring for the Bill, "the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill," that organ of the Tory party, "The People," has thought fit to tell the truth about the "traffic." In its issue of December 15, 1912, it printed a special article on "White Slavery and its causes."

Under the heading "The Root of the Evil" we were told:

"The truth cannot be shirked that many recruits have joined the army of 'white slaves' through the monotony of ill-paid lives of virtue compared with the larger gains easily earned in the service of vice. . . . All the time the market is over-supplied with female labour wages will remain low, and consequently the attractions of a life of easy virtue will be correspondingly greater."

This is almost exactly the language of the Chicago Commission on Vice which last year enquired into the question.

"The People," an organ of the anti Socialists, has to make the further confession that

"the economic or wage question to a very large extent is the root of the social evil. The sad fact cannot be ignored that the 'sweating' of women is an evil that flourishes very actively, and many firms of high repute grind down their employees to a shameful degree. Hence the market price of virtue is very cheap at the present time."

Thus is the fraud of capitalism made plain. The hypocrisy of the "Pass the Bill," campaign is confessed, for the measure contains not a single provision designed to stop the "sweating of women." The "white slaves" will remain and increase in number until the wage slave system is ended. But that would be the end of the "flogging" fanatics, as well as of the "procurers"—the makers as well as the patrons of the modern Magdalene's trade.

It will be recalled that last year the Home Secretary, Mr. Winston Churchill, at the demand of the factory owners, passed a Home Office Order (No. 360, April, 1911) [permitting boys sixteen years of age to work in factories all night making artificial silk fibre. Prior to his action the lowest age for night work was fixed by the Factory Act of 1901 at eighteen years for this trade. Such was the industrial progress of "Dear Winston," and his kindly consideration for the employers. If the workers' children suffer, well, there is always the sanatoria of friend David George, or the free funerals furnished by "honest John's" Poor Law!

Much criticism was aroused by this action, as aforetime the Home Secretary appointed a committee to enquire into (who said whitewash?) the question of nightwork for boys. Their report has just been issued (Cd. 6,503). They tell us that

"they realise that it is essential in necessarily continuous processes in certain industries at the present time, in order to avoid unreasonable loss through waste of fuel or valuable material, and that in considering the question of prohibition of night employment of boys, regard must be had for what measure of further prohibition is practicable without imposing any serious disabilities on the industries of the country."

They ask that permission should be given where "stoppage causes such waste of fuel or material as would entail financial loss likely to materially damage the business." What the continuity of the processes has got to do with the reduction of the age limit they do not say. Processes can be continued by the ever-increas-

January, 1913.

ing number of men seeking work—but that wouldn't do. Boys—young boys—are so much cheaper.

"Serious disabilities" and "unreasonable loss"—of life may be imposed upon the children of the workers, but the sanctity of capital must not be touched. The children must "sleep" by day and slave by night to make the masters' millions grow. Who dare speak of "breaking up the home and family life" after this?

Dealing with the glass manufacturing trade, where boys have been given permission to work all night at the age of fourteen for regular spells of 14 hours, the committee says:

"We recognise, however, that owing to the large proportion of boy labour in the trade, and to the fact that foreign competition still presses heavily on our manufacturers, though in a less degree than formerly, it is not desirable to do anything that would cause too sudden a disturbance of trade conditions."

This despite the fact that they admit that it is the most deadly of all, and that dozens of leading witnesses gave evidence as to its disastrous effects. The number of boys in the trade far exceeds that of men. The committee, speaking of the machine, says:

"Though it seems likely that, by the introduction of labour-saving machinery, the necessity for employment of boys is likely to be greatly reduced, any such change is likely to be very gradual. Unfortunately the increased use of machinery often tends to displace the skilled workman rather than the boys."

One witness is quoted as typical of the objections to night work:

"Dr. Ridley Bailey, certifying surgeon for Birston, was of the opinion that during the period of active growth, when the tissue changes are going on, work at night, which is very heavy in his district, must tend to interfere with the physical development and the physical faculties. He found the boys had some times to sleep during the day in beds that had been occupied during the previous night, and stated that owing to the street noises and the sounds inseparable from the carrying on of household routine during the day, it was impossible for sleep to be so sound and refreshing as it would be in the night. He considered it a very serious matter that boys should be placed in such a position."

This servile report of the Departmental Committee is signed by William Waldorf Astor, M.P., and among others there is, needless to say, the representative of the Labour Party, Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P.!

At Aberdeen (29.11.12) the Welsh Revivalist and Latter Day Saint, Mr. Lloyd George, lectured on Miracles. He told his audience that a blacksmith would get two hundred pounds and a consumption cure thrown in for a few shillings under the last "Act of the Apostles."

At Birmingham, however, Sir James Barr, President of the British Medical Association, said (6.12.12):

"He knew no greater legislative farce than the method of dealing with tuberculosis under the Insurance Act. You must get tuberculosis before they begin to stamp it out, and then a totally inadequate sum is allowed for the stamping out process."

If Sir James thinks any Liberal or Tory politician will really wipe out the main cause of tuberculosis, viz., poverty, he must have enough faith "to move mountains"—and as much real knowledge of the capitalist world as "a grain of mustard seed."

The Postmaster General has opened automatic telephone exchanges in various parts, the last being at Hereford. Many others are being built. The feature of them is that no operators are required, each subscriber being his own connector. The extension of the system is to save a great deal of money, and the girls will be dispensed with. They may "seek fresh fields and pastures new"—be shipped to Buenos Ayres or "Walk down the Strand" and ponder over the "wonders of science" with the "white slave trader."

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

An American paper also informs us that dairy maids are damned by an automatic milking machine that is proving very successful over in Yankee land. The increasing use of the Dictaphone in offices here is pronouncing the death-sentence of the shorthand writer, and things all round look blacker than ever for the fair sex of the slave class. First it was "Good-bye, brother, come in, sister!" Now it is "Good-bye, sister, enter, Science, and save my wages bill!"

Canadian capitalists are doing well. They have offered the British Government seven millions to build three Dreadnoughts to guard "our shores." The prosperity of the owners of the "Golden West" was the theme of the Premier of Alberta at the Royal Colonial Institute in London on December 4th. He said that

"A huge tract of land that was at one time only inhabited by Indians and buffaloes was on the point of becoming an important part of the country. To-day there were 14,000 miles of railway line completed and working at a cost of 80 millions, most of which had come from the City of London."

He also said that Canada is "a splendid place for the emigrant who is prepared to take off his coat," but he quite forgot to remind the emigrant that he must keep his coat off until he's worked out and then make way for the newer and cheaper emigrant.

The Canadian toilers have taken off their coats so much in the past that when a railway has to be built most of the money has to come from the City of London, where they don't take their coats off. The workers of the West are so industrious that the Premier pointed out that "there is an unlimited scope for safe investment." The chap who takes his coat off has no money to invest, but he can invest his time in Socialism with happy results for the future.

"Spite of all the efforts of the Salvation Army, the Church Army, and countless other organisations, the mass of squalor shows no visible dint. The tide of crime and pauperism ebbs and flows sullenly in dependence upon the trade cycle. The drunkard still abounds, though drinking has decreased. The shelters of the Salvation Army and other organisations are always full, yet the casual wards are more crowded than ever. The average number of vagrants relieved in 1906 constituted a record. The number of persons actually houseless in London and passing the night in the open is probably greater than before, and is certainly very considerable."

The terrible indictment I have quoted is from "The Social Work of the Salvation Army," and is written by W. H. Beveridge, Director of the Labour Exchange Department, Board of Trade. A. KOHN.

THE PSEUDO-SOCIALIST VOTE IN U.S.

A MILLION votes for Socialism! In exulting tones the worthy supporters of the body calling itself the Socialist Party of America tell us that this was, approximately, the vote cast for their candidate for the Presidency of the United States—Eugene V. Debs.

A million votes for Socialism! Would that it were true! Would not we too rejoice? But we have, in duty bound, to look into the matter before we join in the shouts of victory and—we decide to reserve our surpass steam.

This vote, perchance, compelled some attention at the hands of the capitalist Press. They found this vote a serious menace to "American institutions," that is, of course, capitalist institutions, writ Uncle Sam. And probably the capitalist Press is not far wrong, for one may well admit that the vote for Eugene Debs for the Presidency is a prelude of the fall of capitalism, without agreeing to the assumption that the U.S. working class have gone a million strong for the Socialist Republic.

A slight acquaintance with the S.P. of A. teaches one that its membership is made up of all sorts and conditions of men and women with, for the most part, very little more to recommend them for membership of a Socialist Party than good intentions and enthusiasm. Only a small

part have anything approaching a real grip of the proletarian position.

As was the case in the old S.D.F. in Great Britain, there is much talk of Marxism. But so little are the implications of Socialist economics understood and the conditions of the class struggle appreciated, that we find the party, in its respective State platforms, asking for the support of the working class for a long list of reforms, such as the Minimum Wage, the Eight Hours Day, Old Age Pensions, Sick Insurance, etc., much as we have been used to finding in S.D.F. programmes.

In fact, such emphasis and prominence were given these in the New York State platform that it was thought necessary to remind the public in large type on the last page, that the ultimate object was not overlooked.

Demagogue Roosevelt, the biggest bluffer Uncle Sam can boast of, created a distinct rustle by annexing a large slice of this reform program—and this on the recommendation of a prominent S.P. member, it appears.

This the membership seemed to think rather flattering, though, of course, it was, on the contrary, a tribute to the anti-Socialist character of their own party. For, surely, if those demands were Socialistic, capitalist Roosevelt would not even have looked at them.

However, one point is worth noticing, that is that the prophecy that Roosevelt would carry off a large part of the "Socialist" vote or prevent it increasing has proved entirely mistaken. Apparently his "revolutionary" candidature did not keep a vote from Debs.

With regard to this reform question one hears from the S.P. members the same old confusing nonsense about a capitalism too rotten to be patched, and yet calling for a whole rag shop full of patches in the shape of the S.P. "immediate demands."

Reading the voting returns from the various parts of the country, one notices the great disparity of votes given for different candidates on the same local Party ticket—showing that many votes are cast for persons rather than for principles. Thus in Illinois an S.P. candidate came near being elected to an important legal office, while the remainder of the S.P. candidates ran hopelessly in the rear. In this case the party Press announces the intention to contest the election, thereby admitting the party's readiness to accept office from voters who do not even endorse the party's program, such as it is. Such a policy is an exhibition of weakness, and can only lead to failure, disappointment, and apathy. Inevitably the association of the name of Socialism with such

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JANUARY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	C. Biggett	A. Tims	H. Cooper
" Edmonton Green	7.30	J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
" Finsbury Park	3.30	A. Anderson	A. Pearson	A. Hoskyns
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30	J. Roe	A. Jacobs	C. Ginger
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30	F. Vicker's	J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson
Ilford (station)	7.30	J. G. Stone	B. Young	B. Young
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	J. Roe	C. Parker	A. Jacobs
"	7.30	A. Barker	C. Baggett	C. Baggett
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	T. W. Allen	R. Fox	F. J. Rourke
Peckham Triangle	7.30	A. Tims	F. Leigh	A. Kohn
" Hackney, Ridley Rd., Dalston.	11.30	A. Kohn	C. Ginger	B. Young
Tooting Broadway	11.30	E. Lake	J. Roe	J. Fitzgerald
"	7.30	C. Gatter	C. Elliott	J. G. Stone
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	11.30	A. W. Pearson	A. Barker	A. W. Pearson
"	7.30	A. Kohn	F. J. Rourke	A. Tims
Walham Green Church	7.30	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	C. Ginger
Wood Green, Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	W. Lewington	S. Blake	T. W. Allen
"	7.30	J. G. Stone	J. G. Stone	A. Barker
"	7.30	A. W. Pearson	A. Kohn	C. Gatter
"	7.30		R. Fox	A. Anderson

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cr. 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.**FRIDAYS.**—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church. 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Amburst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:
193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Brauford Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 33 Britania-rd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Earlsfield rd., Garratt-ld., Branch meets 29, Thornehill Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Weds. 8 p.m.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Communications to Secretary, care of W. Prentis & Co., Broadway Chambers, Ilford. Branch meets alternate Sundays at 3 p.m. in Room No 11, Broadway Chambers, Ilford. All communications to secretary.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec. 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Thursdays at 8.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portman-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., at 8.30, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—R. J. Millar, Secy., 80, Haymerle-road, Peckham. Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30 at 21, Nunhead Lane, Peckham.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a. Farleigh-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

TOOTING.—W. Thomas, Sec., 47 Woodbury-street, Tooting. Branch meets Wednesdays 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).

TOTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 46, Badlis road. Branch meets Tuesdays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to H. Tate, 76, First Avenue, Plaistow. Branch meets alternate Mons. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms 459, Green St., Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Road, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

WORTHING.—G. Stoner, Sec., 31 Southfield-road, Broadwater, Worthing. Branch meets alternate Tues. 8.30 at Newland Rd. Coffee Rooms.

SECOND EDITION.

SOCIALISM & RELIGION.

The Party's pronouncement on this interesting subject.

This new edition of this useful work is enlarged to 48 pages, and contains a preface.

Post Free - - - - - 1½d.

From Handicraft to Capitalism.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

POST FREE - - - - - 1½d.

THE WORKING CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free - - - - - 1½d.

The CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free - - - - - 1½d.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

(Fifth Edition with preface.)

Explains the Party's position toward the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

Post free 1½d. per copy from the S.P.G.B. 193, Grays Inn-road, London W.C.

ART LABOUR, AND SOCIALISM

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Post Free - - - - - 1½d.

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC,

By F. ENGELS.

Price 4d. - - - - - Post Free 5d.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO,

By MARX & ENGELS.

Post Free - - - - - 1½d.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE-PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.

OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT

7.30 p.m.

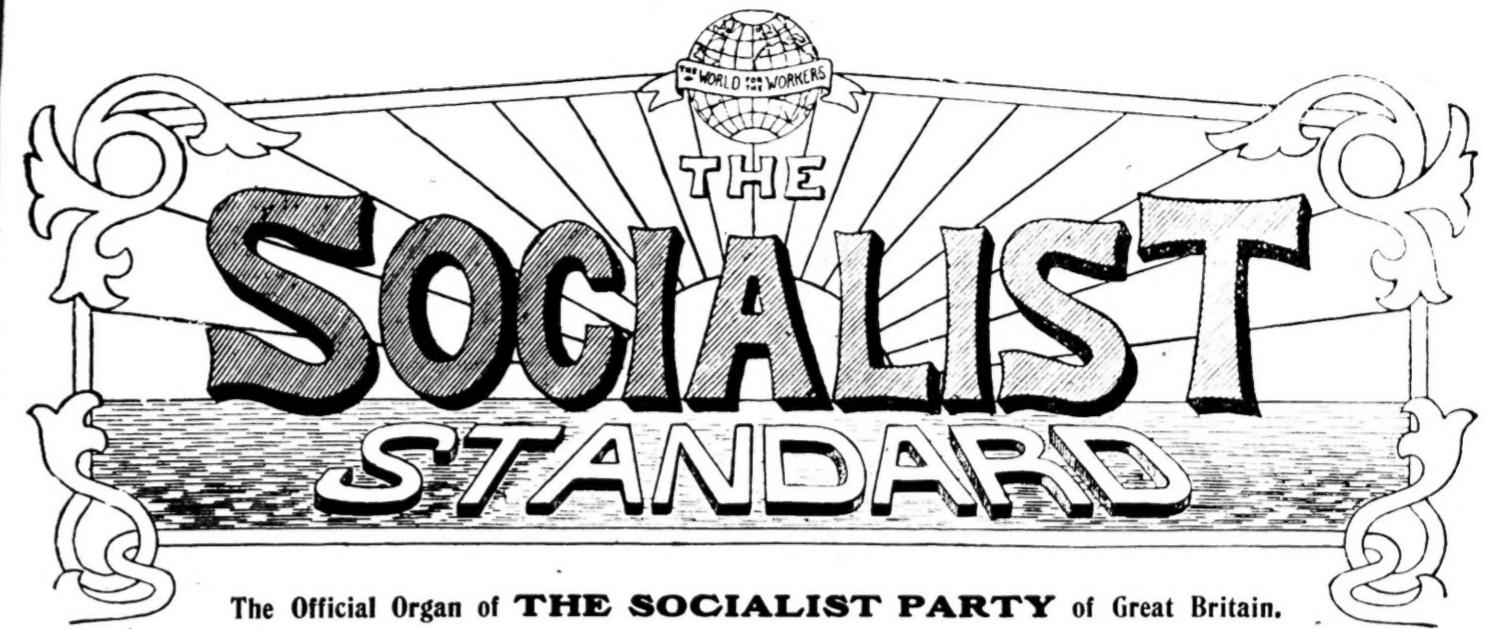
THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth.

3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. - 5/6 post free.

SINGLE YEAR VOL. - 3/- " "

Printed by A. Jacobs, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.



The Official Organ of THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain.

No. 102. VOL. 9.]

LONDON, FEBRUARY 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

ENVIRONMENT MAKES THE MAN. THE ANTI-SOCIALIST ANSWERED.

"The Socialist tells us that environment makes the man. Why is it that the same environment breeds at the same time the fool and the intellect?"

The above question was asked by an Anti-Socialist lecturer at a recent outdoor meeting. When the Socialist, after careful analysis, says that "wealth can only be produced by the application of human labour-power to the nature-given material, and as the capitalist does not contribute labour in any form, he must obtain his wealth by robbery," the anti-Socialist accuses him of generalising. But, at least, his generalisation is true in the main, although there are capitalists—in a small way—who participate in their own business concerns.

The anti-Socialist quoted above, however, generalises on a premise that is absolutely false. The questioner assumed that the fool and the intellect are the result of the same environment. The reverse is the case—so much so that the man of average intelligence accounts, quite rightly, for differences in acquirements and intelligence by referring to the training and opportunities of those in question.

From this common-sense standpoint alone it is evident that the man who is replete with knowledge must have lived in a different environment to that of the ignoramus. This may seem like reasoning in a circle, but when we find that no two individuals are alike, either physically or mentally, and when we also find that no two individuals meet with exactly the same experiences in their struggle for existence, we are justified in assuming some connection between the two.

Each individual has a separate and different environment; each individual is different and distinct from every other. The natural explanation of two such platitudes is that they are cause and effect.

It is quite true that an ever-increasing number of minds are broken on the wheel of capitalist industry. It is also true that a certain proportion of the population in any given form of society are born weak minded. But these are not the products of the system, referred to in the question. The anti-Socialist would consider those men intellects who had achieved a measure of success in the industrial struggle, and those who remain poor he would regard as of weaker intellect. It is habit of mind engendered in the anti-Socialist, and acquiesced in by the majority, to credit those who have wealth, or who hold what are called responsible positions, with superior intelligence.

If the measure of success in the struggle for existence is to indicate the standard of intelligence, it is necessary to ascertain how far opportunities are equalised among the combatants.

If we intend to examine the environment of individuals for the sake of comparison, it is

necessary to do so from the commencement of individual existence, which Ernest Haeckel says is "the moment of conception, when the sex cells coalesce and form a separate being." It is plain that throughout the embryonic stage the mental and physical state of different parents will have an important bearing on the development—both doctors and eugenists insist upon the point. On the development of procreative organs depends the degree of perfection in the function itself. Custom has called this heredity, but in reality organs, functions, parents and their previous development and material conditions form the environment of the new individual, which is a microscopic speck of protoplasm—one cell out of millions, which show no difference whatever, even under the most powerful microscope.

The process of development is purely vegetative at this stage; even after birth every child is subjected to different conditions of treatment. As it grows it adds to and develops the ideas, prejudices, and habits of the parents which it has already inherited and which shape its character and determine its mental outlook.

An apology for education is inflicted upon every working-class child, designed to fit it with the knowledge indispensable to capitalist production, because capitalists demand, and endeavour to arrange for themselves, "equality of opportunity" in the exploitation of labour. The average child on leaving school is qualified to perform the duties connected with the simpler processes of every occupation, and possesses the potential ability and intelligence to ultimately fill the most responsible positions. But capitalism is only concerned with profits, not with the well-being or aspirations of the child.

Herbert Spencer—to quote a capitalist authority—long ago pointed out how limited was the choice of occupations for young people, how the average child brought up in the Potteries was doomed to become a potter, how the majority of Lancashire children were destined for the cotton mills, and so on over the whole industrial field. The mass of the workers have to accept ill paid and degrading situations, because there is nothing else for them, and economic stress determines that they must be earning.

Capitalist production consists, in the main, of routine work; the so-called brain worker is as much a cog in the industrial machine as the mechanic or the labourer. The sphere in which he is placed gives him experience. Men do not become managers and organisers at once: they have to serve their apprenticeship in positions that qualify them for such posts. The average child on leaving school has sufficient intelligence to serve the apprenticeship and qualify for any position under the system. But the number of jobs worth having are strictly limited, and are largely apportioned by influence.

Capitalism is incapable of breeding real intel-

lects: it has no use for them. Further, the system is destructive of intelligence itself; it condemns millions to tasks which can hold no interest for them, leaving them no time or opportunity for the improvement of the mind. The professions are stultified and subordinated to capitalist ideals. The scientist can only hope for success by discoveries which cheapen the cost of production, for social standing and capitalist approval by swearing on his honour that the more he learns the stronger becomes his belief in religion. Art has long ago succumbed to commercialism, because success is for those who record on canvas, to order, the mutton-chop whiskers, gold rimmed spectacles and diamond studs, of a Wertheimer, Beit, or Rothschild. In literature popularity is the test and measure of success, and a servile system gives the award to neurotic productions like "Sherlock Holmes," and "The War of the Worlds," or to adulatory biographies of Victoria the Good or Edward the Peacemaker. The Stage is in the same category as Literature—the hall-mark of popularity is stamped on "Charley's Aunt," "The Miracle," and "Alexander's Rag-Time," not because they display merit or power, but because popular intelligence, being circumscribed by capitalist conditions and aims, applauds what it can understand.

The products of capitalism are, first, unbeautiful parasites exhibiting various shades of gluttony, arrogance, and tyranny; secondly, millions of toiling slaves who's only likeness to one another is that they do not—to quote Mr. Lloyd George—"earn sufficient to replace the energy they use up in their daily toil." Of what is capitalism to these?

When the best jobs are apportioned, when the plunder is shared by a robber class, nothing remains for the vast mass of humanity but the anarchy of incessant struggle with conditions and against one another for the bare necessities of life. What can it signify to them that there are few opportunities here and there? The vast majority are condemned to poverty from the outset. To these we bring the message of Marx: "Workers of the World, unite! you have nothing to lose but your chains; you have a world to win." Organise as a political party; leave confusion to the confusionist, and capitalist politics to the capitalist. Aim directly at your emancipation, and by your own intelligence, determination, and courage transform this bestial environment into one that will become your manhood.

F. F.

IMPORTANT NOTICE.

The Party's Head Office is now at
193, GRAYS INN RD., LONDON, W.C.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

IS MUNICIPALISATION OF INDUSTRIES
REACTIONARY?

[To the EDITOR.]

"Sir.—Is it not a fact that at the present stage of economic development, and from a Marxian standpoint, Municipalisation etc. of industries is reactionary?—because municipalisation to a certain extent eliminates competition, thereby postponing the necessity for scrapping comparatively out of date machinery, which must necessarily retard the installation of labour saving machinery. Anything which retards the installation of labour-saving machinery must necessarily retard the Social Revolution."

R. T. (New Zealand.)

It is, of course, a matter of little importance to the Socialist whether industries are "nationalised" or "trustified." In either case they are at present controlled by capitalists for the benefit of capitalists, and in either case these must be dispossessed by the workers before the people can reap the benefit. But the idea put forward by our correspondent that competition is essential to industrial advance is a fallacy. The elimination of competition is in itself a labour-saving device. Moreover, in almost every instance in recent times where combination has followed acute competition, the immediate result has been a great saving of waste by centralising management and distribution, and, more important still, inefficient works have been closed down, out-of-date machinery scrapped, and more highly developed labour-saving plant and machinery have soon been introduced, with the single object of securing higher dividends. This has been the case from newspapers to motor-buses, and from cigarettes to cement. And the combine, trust, or State department has the means, the incentive, and the power to experiment with new methods, and to install and utilise labour or wages saving devices in a way and to an extent that would be utterly impossible to the smaller competitive firm.

If, then, we have a word of condemnation for municipalisation, it is not because it eliminates what is called competition. Municipalisation fails because in many cases it stands in the way of the scientific organisation of production.

This is not to say that municipal undertakings do this in every case, or that their equipment is not up to date. On the contrary, their ordinary items of machinery and plant compare favourably with private firms, whether water-works, gas-works, tramways or electricity works. But where municipalisation fossilises a political boundary in industrial organisation, and tends to retard the fuller and more efficient organisation of an undertaking by trust or State, it has to be condemned as reactionary.

The tramway systems could be much more efficiently and usefully managed and worked over much larger areas than is permitted by the present local boundaries. Compare the ramifications of the London motor-bus combine with the number of separate tramway systems of greater London. Indeed, the Londoner travelling to the extreme east of his native town by tram had, until recently, good cause to regret the limitations of municipalisation each time he crossed the territory of a fresh council and had, perforce, to change trams. Only lately has the compromise of a few through cars on one or two routes been arrived at.

Notwithstanding such working arrangements (which only minimise public inconvenience without securing the economy of combination), the wastefulness of separate management and working are inherent in municipal enterprises of that nature. Economic development, indeed, may be expected in the long run to burst its municipal bonds; in which case it will cease to be reactionary only because it ceases to be "municipal."

In certain cases, moreover, nationalisation also must be reactionary in the sense of putting political and uneconomical barriers to industrial organisation. This will be remedied only by International Socialism.

All Heartily Welcome. Admission Free.

ISLINGTON BRANCH S.P.G.B.

Hold a

SOCIAL & DANCE

AT

FAIRFAX HALL, HARRINGAY, N.

(Close to Haringay Park Station)

ON

THURSDAY, MARCH 6th, 1913.

+

Doors Open 7.30. - - - Commence at 8.

+

ADMISSION SIXPENCE.

THE FRANCHISE FIASCO.

But with regard to municipal undertakings this fact is very clear, particularly in the case of electrical works. Electricity can be very much more cheaply generated in bulk and distributed over wide areas than it can be separately managed, generated, and distributed in each petty borough. In all cases, therefore, we point out that municipalisation is reactionary, not because it eliminates competition, but on the contrary because it puts political barriers to industrial development.

It must not, however, be supposed that we are greatly concerned. The matter has chiefly an academic interest to the Socialist. Economic forces will shape our ends, rough them how we will. It is not our business to go out of our way to hurry on the development of capitalism. That will go on in spite of us. We require all our energy to propagate Socialism and organise the workers for its realisation. But the facts regarding municipalisation usefully show the humbug—ignorance—of that horde of pseudo-Socialists who call it "Municipal Socialism," and hail it as a short cut to the New Jerusalem.

W.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT!

An Economic Class is held at the Head Office on Friday nights at 8 o'clock. Will those who have nothing to learn come and teach?

* * *

A Central Speakers' Class has been established in order to equip more comrades for the platform. The classes are held at the Head Office, 193, Gray's Inn Road, every Saturday evening at 7.30. It is urged upon all comrades to attend.

NEW S.P.G.B. PUBLICATION.

We draw readers' attention to the displayed advertisement appearing elsewhere on this page of our new debate pamphlet. This book is fine value, and should be read by all.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

E. PRESTON (Canonbury).—It is not true that Marx repudiates political action in a later edition of "Capital" and in "The 19th Brumaire," or in any other works for that matter. On the other hand, his works directly counsel political action as the essential method for the working class.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Further Reminiscences" by H. M. Hyndman. 15s. net. "Poverty," by Robert Hunter. 2s. net. Both from Macmillan.

A DEBATE

WILL BE HELD

ON SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 29th, AT 8,

AT

ST. JAMES'S CHURCH INSTITUTE,

AT GRAVESEND,

Subject: "That Socialism alone will benefit the Working Class; Christianity will not."

AFFIRMATIVE: F. VICKERS (S.P.G.B.)

NEGATIVE: Rev. S. J. POOLE, M.A., Vicar of St. James's Gravesend.

All Heartily Welcome. Admission Free.

THE FRANCHISE FIASCO.

"After years of promise the Liberal Party have drawn up a Suffrage Reform Bill. With a long sham fight about 'Home Rule' and 'Welsh Disestablishment' before them, the measure seems to have had its last and first reading."

"The suffrage for women, too, seems to have been left out of this Government measure in the hope that it will help to keep the fires of controversy burning—and perhaps to sufficient effect to cremate the Bill."

"So wrote we in our issue of July last upon the introduction of the now cremated Bill. We wrote the truth because we know the history of this party of cravens—of their contemptible cowardice in the past. We never expected them to do more than *dress* the political window to catch the eye of the voter in by-elections.

It is the old, old story—ever new to the politically blind—the story of '32, '67, and '92. Hypocrisy writ large over the actions and speeches of the "leaders of the People." Just as King Edward conveniently died to prevent them "doing things" to the House of Lords, so now something turns up to help them out of the ditch.

"The Speaker" discovers that if Asquith keeps his promise and allows the Bill "to be widened in its scope," it can't go through. So Asquith pronounces its funeral oration.

They never dreamt of such a thing as the Speaker doing that! Oh, dear, no! Eminent lawyers, too, most of them! The very men, moreover, who make and maintain the laws of procedure in the House of Commons! What a sorry tale of bluff!

It was ever thus with them. They don't want to see a wider franchise. They fear its possibilities. They are afraid of political changes—they might lose their jobs. As the passing of a Franchise Bill is coincident with a General Election, they don't like to take their chances.

The story of the fight for the franchise is a story of Liberal and Tory betrayal of the working class. Both parties made use of the Chartist movement, and both helped to smash it. Persecution and broken promises were the weapons then used, and they served their purpose well. After a generation had passed that grand old humbug, W. E. Gladstone, promised the workers the franchise, but, true to his kidney, he wobbled when the time came. So they went on, Parliament after Parliament voting down franchise Bills.

Yet to day, relying upon the working class short memories, the lying Liberals boast of having given the toilers the vote.

So now, after years of promise, they deliver their still-born Bill. But just as Household Suffrage was inevitable, so now we believe that in the march of events Adult Suffrage is bound to come. But, true to their historic methods, the Liberals will try it in instalments. A small portion at a time in order to reap the kudos on many occasions. They will go warily, lest they alter the complexion of political life.

We, however, do not regret the death of this Bill. As we pointed out in July last, there was nothing democratic about it. But the way it has gone shows what a fund of ingenuity these cunning lawyer politicians can bring to the bluffing of the working class. And is it not significant that we were able to foretell this six months ago? A. K.

SOCIALISM

versus

TARIFF REFORM.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

Post Free 1½d.

LABOUR LEADERS AND WAGES.

Of all the comments, discussions and cartoons set going by the leader of the Opposition's speech at Ashton-under-Lyne, not any that have come before this writer's notice have had anything to say about this part (I quote from the "Daily Telegraph's" report):

"I believe in combination for the purpose of raising the conditions of labour, and I believe it has done a great deal less than it ought to have done for this reason, as I think, that from the moment the trade unions were seized for political purposes, from that moment their influence in their real object disappeared. Is not that natural? If trade unions are to make the best bargains with employers, the men who lead these unions must understand the conditions of the trade as well as the employers understand them. They must know when to make demands, and they must know when it is useless to make demands. To understand any trade in that way we require the best intellect which trade unions can produce. But how can it be exercised for that purpose if the ambition of leaders of trade unions is not to fit condition to work, and to develop the necessary skill during the probationary period, and to maintain the supply of such labour by retaining a family."

In the case of labour power—the case in which the workman is very directly concerned—that cost of producing his capacity to work will vary with the degree of skill required in a given trade, but will always represent the standard of subsistence needed to enable him to keep in a fit condition to work, and to develop the necessary skill during the probationary period, and to maintain the supply of such labour by retaining a family.

The factors entering into the category in some trades are necessarily complex, and dim historical and social survivals have tended to smooth off the harsher corners of the economic law, but the law is in no way invalidated thereby.

Most conclusions can be checked by inverting the syllogism—by inducting as well as deducing. In this case we have not only the theoretic argument, but the statistical tabulations of several social investigators. The labours of Booth, Rowntree, Horsfall, and Mann (Harold, not Tom), approaching the problem from the other end and tabulating the cost of living and the incomes of families in their different parts of the country, prove the one to approximate to the other, incidentally throwing considerable light on the vicissitudes of the worker's life, and marking out, as on a chart, his alternate journeys above and below the poverty line.

The idea is certainly very quaint. Trade union officials are to convert themselves into labour-power merchants and slave brokers; to watch the fluctuations of the "labour market," to ask a bigger price when they can, and inversely, when the market is against them, presumably, to accept a smaller one. The study of the market in this case is to be so continuous that no time is to be available for political purposes, notwithstanding that merchants in other commodities are eminently eligible as statesmen.

The suggestion that the influence of the men leaders has waned since they have entered upon political activities is exceedingly doubtful. We must bear in mind that to a great extent the T.U. officials already function as brokers, and any lessening of their influence is more directly traceable to their activities as such than as politicians.

The arrangements made and signed between masters' and men's representatives have been frequently matters of hot discussion in the unions, and accusations of betraying the men are not unknown. Suspicions of the use the leaders make of their power as brokers more frequently undermine the faith in those leaders than any gyrations on the political field can possibly do.

On the economic side the effect of such an agreement is immediately and directly felt; on the political side if a workers' representative functions as a capitalist representative, the immediate effect is but to strengthen an already-existing majority.

To us the waning influence of the labour leader is the most hopeful sign of the labour unrest, indicative as it is of the awakening of consciousness soon to ripen into Socialism, and a jealous vigilance over the leader for a repetition of the double-dealing engineered in the past, too often with impunity. The reason of so little improvement having taken place in working-class conditions during the last ten years will have to be sought in another direction. It is a long story, and readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD are perhaps familiar with it. It is known as the Law of Wages, fairly well understood by the Socialist, and knocks the bottom out of all reforms, whether of the Liberal, Tory, or Labour brand.

It is recognised in essence by the suggestion that the T.U. official should qualify as an expert in order to manipulate the market. It rests on that recognition of the commodity form of labour. For when the expert T.U. dealer has driven his commodities to market, higgled price over them with buyer, drawn his commission, and signed the contract, there still has to be found the point around which the fluctuations of the market oscillate.

In the old days, when absolute power was

in the hands of kings, ambitious men, in order to obtain power, played upon the weaknesses of kings, and flattered them.

"The power has changed. It is now in the

hands of the working classes of this country,

if they choose to exercise it, but human nature

has not changed. Men with the same ambitions, animated by the same motives, try to

obtain them in the same way, but now they flatter not kings, but the people."

From this we see admitted by the Tory leader

what some of our "friends" would deny, viz.,

that the power is in the hands of the working-class.

So, given a working class understanding the working-class position and recognising the

the moral effect for them is obvious. Every great

labour-saving invention or discovery—and the

use of oil as a propelling agent has been made

possible by the invention of Dr. Diesel—spells

unemployment for thousands while capitalism

lasts. Many are flung "out" to accentuate the

competition of those "in."

When the workers will it the work will be flung out instead, lessening the labours and adding to the leisure and pleasure of all.

We call it Socialism, this condition of affairs

wherein every invention will contribute only to

the comfort and happiness of the whole people.

Work for it, for there is no hope for the slave

class in any other direction.

WOLFE.

OIL AND SLAVES.

The oil age is coming. Year books, financial journals, the sharks of Throgmorton Street, together with the rest of the interested, "far seeing" exploiters and worshippers of the golden calf, are eagerly discussing the possibilities of oil as a motive force, and how much more profit they can grab by its use.

It behoves the working class to consider the question also, because it is they who are going to suffer, as usual, from what would be a boon and a blessing to all were the toilers sufficiently enlightened and determined to make it such.

The "Diesel" engine has already proved itself capable of propelling ocean-going steamers, and will doubtless be in general use in the near future. Look at this: "The engine room staff of the 'Selania' consists of eight men and two boys. No firemen required. No boilers needed. No loading with bunker coal for the voyage."

How our masters must rub their hands with delight when they think of the saving of wages, extra cargo space, cheaper ships, and many other advantages. How the thoughtful fireman must curse when his job disappears, and the boilermaker when he reads: "No boilers required."

How joyous the coal-porter must feel when, instead of fifty men engaged in coaling a ship, he sees the engineer turn on the oil cock and fill his tanks in a few hours! Oh! the unspeakable happiness of the lightermen and railwaymen at the thought of not having to transport any more dirty coal to the docks! What joy dwells in the heart of the miner as he thinks of the near future when oil competes fiercely with coal, and thousands of him are saved the trouble of squabbling over

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed to: The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 103 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C. to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free 1s. 6d.
Six " " " " 9d.

The Socialist Standard,



SATURDAY, FEB. 1, 1913.

A QUESTION OF POLICY.

SEVERAL correspondents having recently asked questions with regard to the future revolutionary economic organisation, an attempt is made to deal generally with the matter in the following article.

In the first place the position of this party has always been, no matter whether it is the economic organisation or the Socialist Commonwealth that is in question, that all matters of detail must be left to those upon whom the necessity to consider and arrange them is imposed by social development. Social development does not impose this task upon the Socialist Party at the present day. In every walk of life the broad scheme comes first. No organiser ever proceeds from the particular to the general—from the detail to the whole.

That which has been placed before the working-class intelligence to-day is the need for the broad, undetailed social system based upon the common ownership of the means of life. We know that from that basis certain broad conditions must arise. Those conditions are of such vast importance as to dwarf all matters of detail into the elusive diminutive of "nothing," just as the corresponding conditions which arise out of the present social basis (wage-slavery, for instance) are of such overwhelming moment, as to reduce all other matters to insignificance.

The Socialist, as the member of society upon whom the need for this change in the social base has been borne, accepts these broad conditions which he knows will arise as sufficient. He is aware that such changes may take place as will prevent the establishment of common ownership in the means of living (though he regards the contingency as so remote that it does not worry him), and in that case the whole and the detail would be equally vain. But he is convinced that, whatever changes may take place, or unforeseen circumstances arise, if such happenings are not of sufficient magnitude to prevent the social base being established, then all the effect of those changes must fall upon the details, and cannot affect the broad outline of the new social scheme.

In regard to the revolutionary economic organisation the Socialist position is identical. That such an organisation will be called for as part of the organisation of the working class for the achievement of their emancipation must be admitted by every Socialist. That such organisation, since its aim is the organisation of the working class, must be upon class lines, is the simple logical implication of the facts. That such an organisation, since its object is revolutionary, must have revolutionary basis and be composed of revolutionaries admits of no dispute. But beyond certain general conclusions clearly arising from the given premises, and which no changes that do not first disestablish those premises can alter, the Socialist, and in an added degree the Socialist Party, is not called to pronounce.

The work the Socialist has before him is to make Socialists—to make adherents to the Socialist whole, not to any conglomeration of

Socialist detail. The details can have no significance to the person who does not understand the whole, and to the person who does understand they do not matter. For the first thing that happens to the man who does understand to the Socialist, that is—that he perceives that his only hope lies in his class. If his class is not equal to taking every step necessary for their emancipation; if his class is not capable of considering and deciding every matter of detail when the necessity arises; if his class is not of sufficient mental calibre to lightly throw off the dead hand of any notions and determinations we might seek to impose upon them, then the working class is doomed.

Why, then, should we trouble ourselves with details that we are not called upon to face? We could only consider them in the light of our present environment, and that, we know, is changing every day. It is a very essential, a fundamental, part of our Socialist position that our environment is changing every day. Upon our conception of the broad tendency of that change we base our general policy, but it is the details of that environmental change that must affect and determine the details of the future policy, and as to the details of the change which will take place in the multitudinous conditions that surround us, we are supremely ignorant.

This, however, we do know: before we can have Socialism we must have, not merely Socialists, but a Socialist working class; and before we can have even the Socialist economic organisation we must have the Socialist material with which to form it. It is a significant fact that those who claim to be able to form a revolutionary economic organisation with non revolutionaries are the same who have succeeded in forming a Socialist (?) political organisation without Socialists.

In the knowledge, then, of what we do know; of what we are sure will be necessary in spite of all changes that are not of sufficient magnitude to touch the fundamentals of our position, we concern ourselves with the work that is at hand—the making of the material necessary to the establishment of Socialism. And we do this, whether that material is to be used in the economic field or the political—or both—without in posing on the future the dead hand of unripe judgments—unripe because they must necessarily be formed in an untimely environment.

But as for the specific questions put by one enquirer, we may hazard a reply. The questions are: "How could the economic organisation work in complete unison with the political party if it was kept separate and apart by non-affiliation?" and secondly: "If the economic organisation is to consist of the same units which compose the political organisation, what structure will it (the economic organisation) take so as to debar from membership the non-revolutionary?"

The question of affiliation, as was pointed out in a former answer, is largely a matter of definition. What is certain is that between the economic organisation of the working class and the political there must, since they each will exist for the same revolutionary purpose, and will each be necessary to that purpose, be such close co-operation as will secure the end in view. There is no mystery about this. Just as the capitalist on the economic field and on the political field, can take consistent action in his own interest without affiliating his economic self with his political person, so can the Socialist. Whatever form of words may be used to designate the organisations, since they will, after all, simply be the revolutionary working class organised on the industrial and the political fields for the same object, they will in effect be different sides of one organisation. Nothing can keep them apart, and if there is no definite act of affiliation it will be because none is needed. For example, the workers, in their economic organisation, will be anxiously waiting for the opportunity to go to work on the co-operative basis, but being Socialists, they will know that they cannot do so until in their political organisation they have taken certain steps. It is hard to believe that, politically, they can take certain conscious steps and, economically, not know they have done it.

Regarding the last point, it certainly seems that provision for sound membership might be made in the same way that the S.P. secures it: by a declaration of principles—and discipline.

ISAACS IN THE CONFESSIONAL.

In our October issue we dealt with the slaughter of the seamen by Lloyd George by his raising the load line of ships. Our statements have rather upset some of that gentleman's worshippers, who are loud in their denials. One of them has recently written to the Attorney General, calling his attention to the matter. Mr. Lloyd George's colleague sent the following reply, which appeared in that leading Liberal paper, the "Manchester Guardian":

"In further reply to your letter, I have been making enquiries into the matter, and am informed that the latest revision of the tables of freeboard came into operation in March 1906, after months of exhaustive enquiry and careful consideration by the experts of the Board of Trade and those of the classification societies—namely, 'Lloyd's Register of British and Foreign Shipping,' 'Bureau Veritas,' and the 'British Corporation for the Survey and Registry of Shipping.' The work of revision was ordered and practically completed before the Liberal Government took office, but the revised tables and the date of their commencement were finally approved by Mr. Lloyd George when President of the Board of Trade. It is necessary to point out that the revision of the tables of freeboard has not and never had any political significance. The necessity for revision is created by the progress of naval architecture and the growth of experience, and the revision itself is essentially a question that can only be properly dealt with by highly trained experts. There is not the faintest evidence that this revision has been the cause of endangering ships, or the lives of the sailors serving in them. I believe this statement is wholly unwarranted. I am much obliged to you for communicating with me, and I think the above information will enable you to refute the statement mentioned in your letter.

Yours faithfully, RUFUS DANIEL ISAACS.
(Italics mine.)

* * *

The most important point in the above letter is the confession that "the revised tables and the date of their commencement was finally approved by Mr. Lloyd George when President of the Board of Trade." The Attorney General's statement that the revision "was ordered and practically completed before the Liberal Government took office" only makes the deed of Lloyd George worse, for one would think "a great Liberal statesman" would hesitate before bringing to fruition an act inspired by the "wicked Tories." But it will be noticed that the date of the commencement of the revised tables was kindly fixed within two months of the "greatest government of modern times" entering upon its corrupt career. The gigantic shipping interests that financed the Liberal caucus were not asked to "wait and see." They saw their interests looked after by David without waiting.

The "progress of naval architecture," as well shown by the adaptability (?) of the "Titanic" and "the growth of experience" evidenced by the stagnant number of boats legally demanded during the very twenty years in which the tonnage of liners had trebled, is a completely capitalist excuse. The "highly trained experts" were, of course, representatives of the officers and seamen who—beg pardon, a slip of the pen—were members of the advisory board of ship-owners appointed by the Board of Trade, and were sometimes actually employed by the ship-owners, as the "Titanic" enquiry showed.

* * *

Rufus says that "there is not the faintest evidence" to show that the lives of the sailors have been endangered, but even the spokesman of the Liberal party, the "Daily News," said (24.10.12): "Almost unanimously captains, officers, engineers, and seamen have declared that the new load line converted a 'dry' ship into a 'wet' ship because it destroyed a ship's reserve buoyancy, and so endangered life and property." And it goes on: "At last a court of enquiry has found in the case of one steamer that the primary cause of her loss and the deaths of twenty of her men was excessive dead weight and insufficient freeboard." The magis-

February, 1913.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

trate, appointed by the Board of Trade, Rufus, said at the enquiry (21.10.12) that "the crew here sacrificed to 130 tons of additional freight." He said that the act of Lloyd George in raising the load line was the "primary cause" of her loss.

* * *

These slimy denials of this lawyer are met by the records of Pliens's fight, which show that the shipowners bitterly assailed him because his proposals meant danger to their profits and their interests. The hostility he met with clearly shows the real meaning of the lowering of the load line in 1875, and ever since then Liberal and Tory reformers—at election times—have gloried in the policy of limiting a ship's load by that Act. But now comes this wily lawyer, drawing his retaining fee of £140 a week from the "Party of the People," claiming that if you raise the load line you are profiting by "the growth of experience."

Sir Rufus hopes that his correspondent will be able to refute our charges with the information in his letter, but the "information" consists of his assertion that "the statement is wholly unwarranted." The letter is valuable as showing the sorry position the apologists of this red-handed Government get into whenever they are unguarded enough to attempt to deal with a working class attack upon their actions.

A. KORN.

THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION.

If there is one thing the employing class is more afraid of than anything else it is the possibility of the workers accepting the idea embodied in the term "the Social Revolution." All the defenders of reaction, from Mallock to Barstein, from Balfour to Ramsay Macdonald, from the leading reviews to the gutter Press, strain every nerve to uproot the idea of a sudden, complete, and drastic change in society. Revolution is anathema to them all. Revolutionists are, by such, described as wild visionaries, Utopia builders, and so on.

Before we investigate this charge it is necessary to point out that some who adopt the revolutionary label quite merit the above description. Those, for instance, who spend their time inventing industrial structures out of thin air, to be ready when the whistle blows to carry on production, undoubtedly belong to this category. So do those misguided individuals who unhappily labour under the delusion that they are Socialists, while employing their energies in advocating anything from Home Rule for Ireland to a municipal income tax—the latest thing in B.S.P. novelties.

It is customary for this latter type to terminate their conference proceedings with cheers for the Social Revolution, though most of them have not the faintest idea of what it means. But they should not be blamed for this, for they are so occupied with other matters that they have not had the time, even if they have the inclination, to find out. It should, however, be distinctly understood that these people are not revolutionaries, even though they masquerade as such; it should be clearly realised that they belong, in fact, to the opposite camp. The term "revolutionist" can only be properly applied to those who work consistently and intelligently for the Social Revolution.

The S.P.G.B. alone fills this requirement. By the term "Social Revolution" we mean a revolution in, and of, society. Any upheaval which merely replaced one set of masters with another would not be a social revolution, because the same social system would continue to prevail. We claim that a complete social change from private ownership to common ownership is necessary, because so long as private ownership continues the robbery of the workers for the benefit of the owners will continue and increase. We can see great national, and even international, trusts and combines springing up and flourishing; and we recognise that these great trusts that encompass continents use their immense powers for one purpose and one purpose alone, viz., to obtain profit. These great combines engage whole staffs of highly qualified men whose business is to devise ways and means

of cutting down expenses, cheapening production, and securing a bigger annual return. Their specialised "feed and speed" men are continually at work putting the toilers at high pressure speed, and ever increasing that pressure under pain of losing their own jobs.

It is the workers who suffer by this process every time. In the nature of things the workers' position must become worse, and not all the wailing of the sentimental reformer will alter this while the system remains and the financiers have the power.

The plight of the non-revolutionary aspirant for better conditions for the workers is pitiable when we contrast his puny, misdirected efforts with the mammoth forces of capital. These individuals who picture a working-class administration under capitalism cautiously and tentatively experimenting in social legislation while the employing class remain dominant in the industrial field, are the real visionaries.

Capitalism cannot do without political control. Your "Labour" Government could only exist within the present system by helping to run the system. The capitalists would still rule, as they do in Australia under the "Labour" label.

Real working-class political control would mean that not only would the workers' representatives refuse to act as tools in financial intrigues, but they would take the positive step of dispossessing the employing class of its ill-gotten wealth. Political power would be the fore-runner of economic control.

The foregoing is the broad outline of what we mean by the Social Revolution—the details will be determined by circumstances. Do you wonder that the ruling class oppose it? It is unfortunate for them, however, that they have no other remedy to offer for the social evils, which tend to increase rather than diminish, and that they are forced to voice their opposition in such a foolish, futile way.

Instead of Socialism being impracticable, it is clear to anyone who takes the trouble to investigate the facts, that the Socialist remedy is based on knowledge, and that the Social Revolution will come in spite of the howl set up by its enemies.

R. FOX.

WATFORD BRANCH REPORT.

The year 1912 has been quite an eventful year for Socialists in Watford. We have had several bouts with the Anti-Socialist Union representatives, and in spite of the boasted training of these hirings of the mentally bankrupt capitalist class, they cut a very poor figure when confronted by a Socialist.

These Anti like to get their assistants, the B.S.P., the I.L.P., and so on, to oppose them, and between the two sets of confusions some sort of a hotch-potch is attacked and defended, and the audience is led to believe that the case for Socialism has been demolished.

We have given these frauds a warm time here this year, especially those of the A.S.U., who have had to earn their dirty gold, and were glad to shake the dust of Watford from off their feet.

We have tried to get the A.S.U., the B.S.P., and the Tariff Reform Union to justify their claim that they are out for the benefit of the working class, but all are afraid to face the onslaught of a Socialist in debate.

The B.S.P. have been proved the greatest cowards or frauds of the whole lot, for at the meeting held under their auspices in Boxmoor Hall, Oct 16th last, the local secretary, in order to assist the speaker (Mr. Kehrhahn), and the chairman (Mr. Gorle), announced that his branch had passed a resolution that no questions should be taken from a Socialist!

What have they to hide? We know, and they know we know. Mr. Kehrhahn, after the meeting, said: "We are not afraid of your opposition," so he was promptly challenged to defend the B.S.P. in debate. But the Boxmoor branch refused to back him, and when we told him that we could not debate with a person who had no organisation behind him, and asked him to get the sanction of his E.C., he wrote back: "To hell with the Executive in matters of this sort."

After this the only thing left us was to hold a meeting and expose them. This we did, and the meeting was a great success.

WATFORD BRANCH.

"IT HAS PAID."

A BOURNVILLE BOOK WITH THE BOURNVILLE FLAVOUR.

"Experiments in Industrial Organisation," by Edward Cadbury. London: Longman & Co. 5s. net.

I do not know exactly what a "Dean of a Faculty of Commerce" is, but it appears from the page before me that he is a person (not parson) "concerned with the training of young business men." If this is so it perhaps accounts for the unerring manner in which the particular "Dean of a Faculty of Commerce" (W. J. Ashley, Ph.D., Professor of Commerce in the University of Birmingham) who wrote the preface to Mr. Edward Cadbury's book, "Experiments in Industrial Organisation," stuck his finger right down through the thick, Bournvillian scum of cant and humbug, upon the one solid point of resistance in the quaky, quaky quagmire. "It is the opinion of the Firm," he says, by way of irresistible appeal to "young business men," "that, taken as a whole, their policy has distinctly 'paid'."

I make bold to say that not even the Socialist, concerned with the training of young (and old) working men, could have got right down to the essential incentive of the Cadbury policy in fewer words and with less waste of time.

"I see no reason why we should not be quite frank in the matter," Mr. Ashley goes on, "it has been a splendid advertisement. Instead of cynically pooh-poohing it for that reason, I think this is a particularly encouraging fact, and highly creditable to human nature. It shows there is such a thing as a consumers' conscience."

Without wishing to decry poor old "human nature," the reviewer opines that one is on much safer, if less cheerful, ground in asserting that it shows that the manufacturer's conscience has had precious little to do with the Policy of the Firm (oblige with "cap," please, Mr. Printer, and keep it "up" all through). In this one is confirmed, even before coming to the body of the book, by the further argument of a "Dean of a Faculty of Commerce," that this same policy "has reduced the expenses of manufacture."

If Mr. Cadbury had let his book simply show that the policy of the Firm had been conceived as conducing to greater profits, and that it had amply fulfilled expectations, without slavering it all over with the hypocrisy of the "Workers' Welfare" movement, one might take it up, if not with more respect, at least with less contempt. However, in this particular sort of cant the Cadburys, like most "philanthropic" employers, have always been regular nobs—cocoa nibs—and if all the "welfare's" humbug which is so lavishly scattered through this volume is translated at Bournville into actual consideration for the workers' welfare, instead of into profits, it must be, as one employee of a goody-goody firm graphically put it: "Like working for Jesus Christ."

For instance, the Firm does not employ married women in any of its processes, we are told, not, of course, because the Firm has not the same disciplinary hold over married women that it has over other employees, but because married women, in the estimation of the Firm, are not fit and proper company for girls. Doubtless this example of the Firm's deep conception of the natural "sinfulness" of women will be duly appreciated by the "consumer's conscience," as exemplified in the thousands of married women who purchase the Firm's products. Even men are not adjudged quite so badly as women, for certain selected men who wear badges are permitted in the girls' departments—though, either from oversight or from jealous regard for trade secrets, Mr. Cadbury does not say whether these "eunuchs" are properly emasculated deaf mutes or the safeguard is in the badge.

It would, however, be very useful to know just how the selection is made, whether by test or appearance. The present scribe is conscious of wearing a "werry wicked countenance," yet he is as harmless as a lamb, while certain of his (mere) acquaintances, whose countenances would guarantee them a free pass to the Sultan's harem would—well, would rush to the test. In the mass of tabulated results set out in Mr.

Cadbury's volume is to be found striking confirmation of several important common Socialist contentions. The value of working class technical education—to the employers—is clearly demonstrated in the chapter on trade classes. "Right methods of working," we are told on page 61, "were substituted for the wrong methods which the girls had picked up"; and on the same page: "This preliminary course served, directly or indirectly, many useful purposes. For instance, it enabled the head of the department to eliminate those girls who gave no promise of ever becoming first class box-makers and to transfer them to machine work." Here we really have the key to the policy of the Firm. The Cadburys are not philanthropists: they are particularly long-headed business men. They have recognised that the ordinary brutal and clumsy methods of capitalism, which sees no difference between one worker and another, is about as wasteful a way of utilising social labour-power as can well be imagined. There is no power of selection exercised, and the majority of workers are misfits—square pegs in round holes. The man whose heart is in the soil, and who might out Burbank Burbank in the garden, is to be found peeling potatoes in an hotel cellar, while the material for the making of the best chef in the world may be wasting in the raising of mushrooms instead of glorying in the cooking of them.

The Cadburys' great achievement lies in the realisation of this fact. Mr. Ashley, speaking after them, says in his preface: "Human beings will insist upon being treated as human beings, and not as imperfect machines." When the cant is cleared away this means: "Workers are not machines, all cast to one pattern, with the same qualities and the same imperfections. They are human beings, things of temperament and individual qualities." That was a grand discovery for a capitalist to make.

Starting out from this principle the Firm proceeds to fit all the square pegs into square holes, and all the round pegs into round holes. The first point is to choose the material, and here the important discovery is made that intelligence in the worker is a distinct asset to the employer. It is found that girls whose intelligence enables them to reach the seventh standard become the most proficient workers, as the following shows:—

A record was recently taken of the wages of sixth and seventh standard girls, both doing the same work under the same conditions. The results were:—

At end of three months.
Sixth standard girls 1 1/4 pence per hour
Seventh " 1 3/4 " "
At end of six months.
Sixth standard girls 1 5/8 pence per hour
Seventh " 2 0/7 " "

The last figures mean that, even at the same wage rate, three rooms with three sets of valuable machinery operated by seventh standard girls would produce practically as much as four such rooms of costly plant attended by girls of the sixth standard. So seventh standard girls are given preference in employment, and "on a recent occasion when fifty girls were taken on, all were in the seventh standard." (p. 3.)

Having chosen the best material, freely brought to their doors by the well-considered and cunningly contrived "advantages" which their manufacturer's "conscience" prompts them to offer to those whom they aspire to employ, they now set about making the most of that selected material. This process the cocoa nibs have reduced to a fine art—with fine artfulness.

A clever system for maintaining discipline has been evolved, which does not allow "culprits" to expiate their offences with fines, but records them against them as sins to be washed away only by two years' good conduct. The Firm finds this an admirable system to apply to young people "just leaving school," who "have not yet lost their habit of obedience and discipline." Then come letters to parents, pointing out the need for technical education, which, "besides ensuring that all shall have a thorough grounding in things necessary to life, also aims at making the best use of the boys' or girls' time, and means greatly increased efficiency all round." The cogent argument is also used, doubtless with overwhelming effect, that "only by treating the

subject scientifically we can hope to keep our supremacy in the world, and take our lead among the nations." Then, of course, factory ethics are inculcated, the Firm going to considerable trouble to teach its future machine operators "how serious is the loss caused by an expensive machine standing idle during the ordinary hours of work."

Then come the technical classes, firstly, as aforesaid, with a view to finding out those possessing the "gift of speed," in order to obtain workpeople for those processes which particularly require manual dexterity, and secondly to repair that other great omission of capitalist organisation, the proper training of wage slaves. It is a strange thing how lax are capitalists in this respect. If a man aspires to fame in the "ring," he has to fit himself by a systematic training, which commences, not with his fists, but with the direction in which his left foot shall point. In cricket every detail of the manipulation of the bat is the subject of theory and practice. Even so simple (!) a thing as drawing a bow square across the strings of a fiddle has to be practiced for months before a mirror by the aspirant for efficiency. But in industry all this goes for nothing. The worker is given the job and told to get on with it, and he scrambles through.

This, however, is not the Bournville way. No effort is spared by the Firm, after fitting the square pegs to the square holes, to theorise each operation and eliminate every superfluous action.

Now for the cost side of all this. We are told on page 67 that the number of employees of the Firm in 1910-11 was 6,182, and the total cost of education to the Firm for the session of that date was £2,782. Of course, not all the workers took part in the scheme during this session, but the point is that the cost covered the annual training necessary not only to replace the Firm's present workers, but also to cover the rapid expansion of the concern.

It comes to this, then, that the benevolent despotism of the Firm supplies them with properly selected and trained workers at a cost of something less than 9s. per head per annum.

Here is cogent reasoning for the "Dean of a Faculty of Commerce's" "young business men." Do you think it is worth it—to have every worker in a vast industrial concern doing the work he or she is best fitted to do in that concern (except, of course, bossing the show) and properly trained to do it, without false motion or waste of time or material, for 9s. a head per year? Is the expert a bad bargain compared with the ordinary half-trained or untrained worker at an additional cost of 9s., or £9, ay, or perhaps even £90 per year?

Well, the Firm says that under certain stimulus the output "has doubled without any undue strain upon the workers, largely as the result of adopting better methods." And, as if to clinch the argument in favour of training as such by eliminating improvements in machinery they add: "This especially applies to hand processes."

It may be argued that as most of the work is paid for on the "piece" system the benefit goes to the workers, but the intelligent reader will hardly need to be told that the rate is fixed so as to allow the workers to reproduce their efficiency, and is revised from time to time, thus securing that every advance of the general efficiency shall be translated into extra profits for the Firm, in order, of course, that we may "keep our supremacy in the world, and take our lead among the nations."

I have not space to deal further with the details of the Bournville policy, but what remains, no less than what has been touched upon, points to the truth of what has been contended in these pages—that the general worsening of working-class conditions is not inconsistent with shorter hours and higher wages, for those in work, and greater physical efficiency even for those out of work. For, as the Cadburys have discovered, the efficiency of the workers, after all, depends fundamentally upon their physical and mental condition.

A. E. JACOMB.

Peckham readers should note that the local Branch has taken premises at 41, Albert-road, which are open every evening. Lectures will be delivered every Sunday, admission free.

WOMAN & SOCIALISM.

It is often asserted by our opponents, who never hesitate to stoop to any and every means to divert the attention of the working class from their only path to emancipation, that Socialism would inevitably lead to community of wives;

in fact, one anti-Socialist went so far as to declare that "it would lead to universal prostitution." It is doubtful whether this is the honest opinion of these critics, or written against their opinions simply to

SHOCK THE MORALITY

of the people in an endeavour to prejudice them against Socialism. It may be that these superficial observers, having heard of the community of wives or group marriage under primitive communism, honestly believe that, as Socialism is the common ownership of the means of life, it will necessarily result in community of wives.

Of course, the intelligence of these would-be critics has not risen above the old conception of the inherent inferiority of women, believing that they exist simply to satisfy the desires of men. That women will some day be on an equality with men is beyond their comprehension, and doubtless against the wish of those who, to-day are able to take advantage of women's economic inferiority.

That the sexual relationship will change with the metamorphosis of the economic basis of society no Socialist will deny, or any keen student of ancient history seriously dispute, for a study of ancient society and the corresponding forms of society still in existence, shows conclusively that the sexual relations have followed the different stages of economic development.

Let us glance at two or three of the most salient forms of sexual co-habitation. The history of these forms is not merely a chronology of different marriage systems that evolve out of preceding forms, and the development of which would remain inexplicable but for the fact that a close analysis of a very remote system

GAVE US THE KEY

to the solution of this all-important problem.

The now universally accepted theory of the descent of mankind from the anthropoid apes leads to the conclusion that promiscuous sexual intercourse would have been practised by the human race in its earliest stage, although it is possible that mankind brought with it from our anthropoid ancestors a recognised form of sexual relationship; and again, no strict line of demarcation could have been drawn between these two species of animals. But according to Prof. L. H. Morgan ("Ancient Society") there exists a community of people who still practise a form of sexual co-habitation very remote from that arrived at in highly developed

countries at the present time.

Among the Kamilaroi of Australia there exists, or did until recently, a very primitive form of group marriage, under which a group of men and a group of women are husbands and wives. No man, therefore, can say "This is my wife," but could only refer to the whole group of women as "our wives," and the converse is true of the women. Although this is a very low form of sexual relationship, it is a great advance on promiscuity, for it is so organised as to preclude the intermarriage of

BROTHERS AND SISTERS

While it is not intended to give the history of even the most prominent forms of sexual co-habitation that have evolved, yet as the system practiced by the Kamilaroi forms the basis from which the higher systems have evolved, we will outline its salient features.

These people are divided into eight groups—four male and four female—which we will number from 1 to 8, using the odd numbers to denote the male and the even numbers the female groups.

All the members of groups 1 and 8 are husbands and wives, and their progeny belong, not to the group of the mothers or fathers, but to groups 5 and 6. The men of 3 and the women of 6 are also husbands and wives in common, and their offspring belong to 7 and 8. The children of 5 and 4 belong to 1 and 2, and those of 7 and 2 to 3 and 4. Although we call this form group marriage, they are not necessarily clustered together, but geographically distributed as their means of gaining a livelihood dictate. But wher-

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

ever they meet they greet each other as husband and wife.

It will be seen that the system precludes the intermarriage of brothers and sisters.

Under any form of group marriage it was impossible for any man to say with any degree of certainty "this is my child." The nearest approach to this would have been "these are our children." The laws of inheritance of modern society would have been unintelligible under such a system. In the early days of the gens we find descent in the female line, all the members of a gens assuming descent from a common female ancestor. But later descent is transferred to the male line—not any individual father, but to the gens or group of the father.

We have later the syndyasmian or pairing family. Here the co-habitation of one man and one woman was continued only during the pleasure of both.

The establishment of the monogamian system was due to the

DEVELOPMENT OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

It has its roots in chattel slavery. The very word "family" is derived from the Latin word "fam," meaning a slave. Under this system the definite parentage of the child was ascertainable. But this system brought with it the further degradation of women, for while under the group form of marriage the woman was dependent upon no particular man for existence, for property was held in common, the reverse was the case under Monogamy.

In the incipient stages of the monogamian system the patriarch of Rome had power of life and death over his wife and children (O sacred rights of private property!), and Lecky tells us in his "History of European Morals" that: "The child was indeed the absolute slave of his father, who had a right at any time to take away his life and dispose of his entire property. He could look to no time during the life of his father in which he would be freed from thralldom; the man of fifty, the consul, the general, or the tribune was, in this respect, in the same position as the infant, and might at any moment be deprived of all the earnings of his labour, driven to the most menial employments, or even put to death by the paternal command." And this is the system in which our boasted form of the family has its origin!

But monogamy at this period of history belonged almost exclusively to the

PROPRIETED CLASS

and among men only nominally, whilst among the slaves (who formed the vast bulk of the population) there was no legal form of marriage. Monogamy, therefore, was confined to a small minority of the people.

The wives of the patriarchs had more liberty than wives in Greece. The latter led a life of seclusion, rarely coming into contact with men, excluded even from their husbands' tables when they were entertaining friends. They spent their time in domestic work, and had the intellectual development of children. What a contrast to the "free" women of the same country, who have been held up as the ideal of female intellectual and physical development! But these were women who, seen through Christian spectacles, were the most immoral women on earth.

It must not be imagined that this is an exhaustive survey of even the most notable features in the evolution of the sexual relationships. But it is sufficient to show that the present monogamian marriage is but a development from other forms.

Each transformation is due, as with all other social institutions, to the changing economic conditions, while the present form arises out of individual private property.

While the working class are to day dependent upon the capitalist class for their livelihood, the women of this class have to depend to a large extent

UPON THE MEN

for their living. Though many women are now engaged in production, it is obvious that the vast majority must be child-bearers if the human race is to continue. Where women are employed it is chiefly before marriage, although there are thousands who have to slave in factories when they should be nursing the rising generation.

The prohibition of legal marriage among the poor, with a view to restricting the population,

has often been suggested as a remedy for poverty. But the adoption of this suggestion in Munich resulted in 50 per cent. of the births in that city being illegitimate. (Spencer Essays.)

The inability of women to find employment at wages sufficient to keep them and their children when the "breadwinner" has gone drives them into a life of prostitution. Lecky says: "The statistics of prostitution show that a great proportion of those who have fallen into it have been impelled by the

MOST EXTREME POVERTY

in many instances verging upon starvation."

The Press can publish and the clergy echo, harrowing tales of the "decoying of innocent girls," as if this was the cause of prostitution. But the root of the evil lies in the private ownership of the means of life. And we of the Socialist Party alone have the remedy. It is that all the means necessary for the production and distribution of wealth shall be owned and democratically controlled by the whole community.

The Suffragettes may continue their fight for the "emancipation" of women, but even if they achieve the limits of their aspirations, the political equality of men and women, they will still remain *economically inferior* to men.

The social war to day is not a sex but a class war. It is a war between the capitalist class, who own the means of life, and the working class, who, divorced from the means of production, are forced to sell themselves to the capitalist class in order to subsist. The abolition of the private property basis of society will end this war, and the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth will at one stroke sweep away all preventable social evils. Prostitution implies sale, and under Socialism buying and selling cannot exist. Hence Socialism presupposes the abolition of the buying and selling of women, as of all other pillars of capitalist society.

The establishment of Socialism will remove the shackles from mankind without distinction of race or sex. The wealth of society being

COMMON PROPERTY

women will have equal right to it with men. In this they will find their economic emancipation, for they will no longer be dependent upon any individual men for their living. Then, with the pecuniary basis of marriage swept away, true love will have an opportunity to flourish. Men and women will cohabit for love and for love alone. And when love no longer remains, instead of being tied to each other in hate, they will be free to terminate their co-habitation—for the necessity of the compulsory tie goes with the passing of the economic conditions that gave rise to it.

But as Engels says in his "Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State": "What we may anticipate about the adjustment of social relations after the impending downfall of capitalist production is mainly of a negative nature and mostly confined to elements that will disappear. But what will be added

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR FEBRUARY.
(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	2nd.	9th.	16th.	23rd.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	A. Barker	C. Elliott	S. Blake
" Edmonton Green "	7.30	J. Roe	F. Vickers	A. Kohn
Finsbury Park	3.30	A. Kohn	A. Pearson	J. Fitzgerald
Forest Gate (Station)	7.30	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns	A. Jacobs
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30	R. Fox	B. Young	R. Hughes
Ilford (station)	7.30	A. W. Pearson	A. Kohn	F. J. Rourke
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	C. Parker	A. Jacobs	A. Jacobs
" Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Kohn
Peckham Triangle	7.30	E. Lake	A. Hoskyns	A. Tim
" Hackney, Bally Rd., Dalston.	11.30	F. Leigh	J. Fitzgerald	F. Leigh
Tooting Broadway	11.30	C. Baggett	W. Lewington	E. Lake
" Tottenham, West Green Cr.	11.30	S. Blake	C. Baggett	J. Roe
" Tottenham, West Green Cr.	7.30	A. Barker	J. Fitzgerald	A. W. Pearson
Walham Green Church	7.30	T. W. Allen	R. Fox	H. Joy
WoodGrn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	W. Lewington	A. Anderson	F. Vickers
" "	7.30	B. Young	C. Ginger	C. Ginger
			T. W. Allen	A. Tim
				J. Wray
				A. W. Pearson
				R. Fox

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cr. 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.**FRIDAYS.**—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Prince's Head, 8 p.m.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Anhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaufort Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88, Britannia-rd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329 Earlsfield rd., Garratt-la. Branch meets 29, Thornehill Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Weds. 8 p.m.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Sec., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Communications to Secretary, 97 Thorold Road, Ilford. Particulars of Branch meetings from secretary.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Thursdays at 8.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portman-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., at 8.30, at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.

TOOTING.—C. Elliott, Sec., 4 Denison-rd., Merton, S.W. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).

TOTTEHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-rd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road, Branch meets Tuesdays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary 129, Morville-street, Bow, E. Branch meets alternate Mons. 7.30 at Boleyn Dining Rooms 460, Green St., Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Road, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

WORTHING.—G. Stoner, sec., 31 Southfield-road, Broadwater, Worthing. Branch meets alternate Tues. 8.30 at Newland Rd. Coffee Rooms.

SECOND EDITION.

SOCIALISM & RELIGION.

The Party's pronouncement on this interesting subject

This new edition of this useful work is enlarged to 48 pages, and contains a preface.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

from Handicraft to Capitalism,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

POST FREE - - - - 1½d.

THE WORKING CLASS,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

The CAPITALIST CLASS,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fifth Edition with preface.

Explains the Party's position toward the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

Post free 1½d. per copy from the S.P.G.B. 193, Grays Inn-road, London W.C.

ART LABOUR, AND SOCIALISM

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC,

By F. ENGELS.

Price 4d. - - - - Post Free 5d.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO,

By MARX & ENGELS.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

February 1, 1913.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

• That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.

OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT

7.30 p.m.

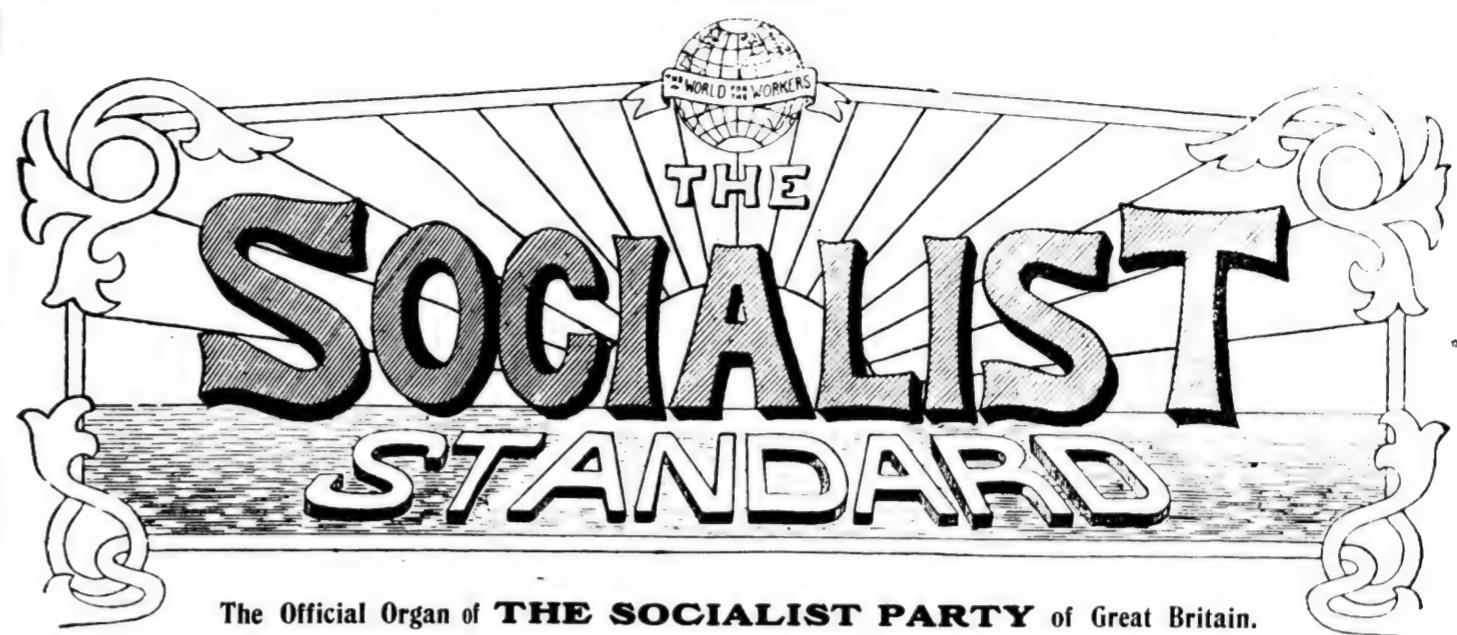
THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth.

3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. - - 5/6 post free.

SINGLE YEAR VOL. - - 3/- " "

Editor: J. A. JACOBI, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.



No. 103. VOL. 9.]

LONDON, MARCH 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

KARL MARX IN CURRENT CRITICISM.

THE VERDICT OF A GENERATION.

Just thirty years have passed since the body of the great path-finder was laid to rest in the grave upon Highgate Hill. Thirty years—the life-time of a generation—yields a

The fair test of the truth of the theories advanced by a thinker, and should Time offer an opportunity to judge a man's work in something approaching true perspective.

I cannot attempt these lines a comprehensive survey of the work of Karl Marx. A life of sixty-five years of stress and struggle is not to be examined in a column or two. But some of the main points in Marx's work may be briefly yet profitably reviewed in the light of our present knowledge.

All kinds of opponents of Socialism profess to offer us something "more in keeping with the times." But whether it be Syndicalism or Revisionism, Co-partnership or State Capitalism, each and every one of these is seen to be fallacious when tested by the scientific theories put forward by Marx.

Karl Marx is best known, perhaps, by his work "Das Capital," a treatise on the production and circulation of commodities which, although "criticised" in hundreds of volumes by professors and other leading lights of modern society, has never been refuted.

Professor Böhm-Bawerk, the Finance Minister of Austria, urged in his "Marx and the Close of his System," that the labour system of value is wrong because Marx failed to take into account scarcity as a factor in fixing value! This expert economist might have seen in the first seven pages of "Capital" how well scarcity was allowed for. "Diamonds are of very rare occurrence on the earth's surface," wrote Marx ("Capital," p. 7), "and hence their discovery costs on an average a great deal of labour time. Consequently much labour is represented in small compass. . . . If we could succeed at a small expenditure of labour in converting carbon into diamonds, their value might fall below that of bricks." By saying a thing is scarce you can only suggest that it takes a great deal more time to get than if it was plentiful.

All the economists who have blossomed forth since Marx wrote have merely revived theories that were abandoned as useless a century ago by men like Adam Smith and David Ricardo. John Stuart Mill, who pieced together portions of many economists and gave them to the world as his "Principles of Political Economy," Prof. Stanley Jevons, with his "Final Marx's Utility" theory, the whole Austrian Awkward school of economists with their "Marginal Utility" notions; all these, together with the more modern "seers" like Professor Marshall, really base their economics on the old theory of "Supply and Demand." The value of an article, in their idea,

is fixed by the difference between the supply of that class of goods and the demand for the same.

But Marx asked what fixes the value of an article when supply and demand are equal, and to this question no answer has yet been vouchsafed by the capitalist hacks.

No wonder the well-known German social reformer and critic of Marx, Prof. Werner Sombart, has to confess that "Marx's theory of Value may perhaps be refuted, but that has not yet been done."

This Berlin Professor of political economy writes thus of Marx: "There was reason enough why Marx was able to rank so high among the social philosophers of the nineteenth century and to exercise by the side of Hegel and Darwin so great an influence on the thought of our day. He combined within himself the best philosophy of history current in his time with the knowledge of the highest forms of social life. He knew his Hegel, and he knew his Western Europe, more especially France and England. He gathered all the lines of thought that had preceded from thinkers of previous ages, and was clever enough, perhaps because of his international experience, to pay but little heed to what was accidental in national

A development and to lay stress on Grudging what was typical in the life of Tribute. society to-day." ("Socialism and the Social Movement," p. 52).

Marx, together with his great co-worker, Frederick Engels, came to the conclusion that the whole of past history since the passing of primitive communism, had been a history of class struggles. These classes—at one time chattel slave owners against the helots, later barons against burghers, now capitalists against wage-labourers—all had their roots in the changing conditions of wealth production and exchange.

The material conditions, says Marx, are the foundation upon which rise all social institutions and when material conditions change so also do the institutions of society.

In his books upon capital Marx laid bare the method of robbing the wage-labourers. He showed that out of the value created by the worker's energies, the worker receives merely enough to barely subsist on. The surplus of the value created goes to the exploiting employer. Hence there is a conflict of interests between the wage workers and the employers. The latter try to increase the amount of surplus value and the workers struggle unceasingly against their masters, and must do so while the employers have the power to extract this surplus over the wages paid.

This class struggle is the cardinal principle of the Socialist policy. And just as it was opposed in Marx's day, so now the class struggle theory is fought against by all those who wish

to blind the toilers to their true interests. Just as it was true when Marx and Engels wrote the Manifesto of the Communist Party, so now it bears the stamp of irrefutable fact.

Almost Marx showed that the progress of Like modern capitalism would result Prophecy. in widening of the gulf that divides the employing class from the working class. He pointed out "in words which seem to many even non-Socialists like prophecy" (wrote Professor R. T. Ely in his "Studies in the Evolution of Industrial Society") that wealth would concentrate into fewer hands the more the system grew.

Professor Werner Sombart, the Revisionist of Revisionists previously quoted, says on this point:—

"During the last 20 years, as we know, there has been concentration of capital by the formation of trusts such as Marx in his boldest flights of imagination could never have dreamed of. Especially is this the case in the United States of America, where we get the best examples of these giant undertakings. According to the latest statistics, no less than 8,664 concerns which were formerly independent are now amalgamated in a few Trusts with a capital of 20,000 million dollars. Of these seven of the 'greater' industrial trusts contain 1,528 concerns formerly independent, and possess a capital of 2,663 million dollars. The six largest railway trusts are even better placed; they have a capital of 9,017 million dollars!"

The truth of the class struggle has been driven home with more tragic emphasis than ever during the last few years. The wide-spread strike and lock-out, the fiendish cruelty of the employers towards their rebellious slaves all over the capitalist world, has induced even capitalist authorities to "lament" the growth of "labour unrest" and of class strife.

Socialism became in Marx's hands a part of social science. The schemes of St. Simon Fourier, Cabet, and Owen were based upon abstract principles like "justice," "truth," and "right." They appealed to the "moral" side of the wealthy, and hoped to see communities established in accord with their ideals. Cabet with his "Icarie," Robert Owen with his "New Harmony" community, each thought to solve the social problem and end the social strife by his carefully planned colonies. But their failure serves as a lesson accentuating the need for science in social action instead of Utopian ideas.

Marx rescued Socialism from Marx's hands of the Utopians and Magnificent placed it upon a foundation of scientific fact. Not moral Achievement. appeals, but organised political action was the way to fight the capitalists. Society, said Marx, moved not because of changing morals, but under the pressure of growing

economic forces making a change in social forms inevitable.

Even such an opponent of Marx as Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald has made the admission ("Socialism and Society," preface) that "Marx's co-ordination of historical fact and explanation of historical movement from the point of view of the Hegelian left wing brought the whole theory of Socialism from the misty dreams of vague desire to the clearly defined empire of science."

It used to be the regular custom in the party to which the above labour "leader" belongs to anathematise Marx and consign him to oblivion as a sociologist. But the place of prominence which history has tardily given Marx, the esteem which he has won in the minds of serious working men and women, have forced the I.L.P. to change their tactics and hence they cling to the name of Marx whilst outraging every principle for which Marx stood.

Mr. Keir Hardie, who derives his "economics" from Jesus Christ, says in "My Confession of Faith in the Labour Alliance": "The Labour Party practices the Marxian policy of the Class Struggle." Such a statement, of course, is utterly false. The alliance with the most bitter enemies of the working class, such as the Liberal manufacturers, for the purpose of "getting in," is certainly part of the class struggle, but the Labour Party take sides in that struggle with the masters. Even their own members, such as Philip Snowden and F. W. Jowett, have confessed to the reactionary position of their party.

Marx's whole life was guided by the principle of "No Compromise." Because of his refusal to truckle to the rulers of Germany he was hunted down and put on trial for sedition. Paper after paper was suppressed, and in their efforts to crush "the terrible Marx," the German powers even invited the French and Belgian Governments to thrust him from their shores. But how different did the leader of the British Labour Party get treated!

Karl Marx was persecuted with all the force of law, but Mr. Macdonald is especially invited to lunch with the German Emperor, an invitation which he gladly accepted.

Doesn't this alone show how false to the toilers' interest is this Labour Party? Defiance, not deference to capitalism, was Marx's motto, and he always opposed any dithering with the enemies of the Red Flag. In the early days of the International he strenuously fought against the attempt of Charles Bradlaugh to enter the organisation, because even then Bradlaugh was showing signs of joining hands with the Liberals.

Marx's exposure of the Liberal Labour leader George Howell brings home his hatred of those who acted as decoys for the masters. He did not hesitate in 1875 to oppose the union of the followers of Lassalle with the Workingmen's Party of Germany at Gotha, even though he lost many friends thereby. The Lassalleans were Utopians, and desired to inscribe on the Unity programme State Co-operation in Industry as the policy of the party. The trenchant attack of Marx remains a beacon for the toilers to day, when men talk of "Socialist unity," but want us to sacrifice our Socialism in order to become "united."

Now and again the reactionary "leaders of Labour" to-day admit the soundness of Marx's revolutionary policy. For instance, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald says in "Socialism and Society" (page 9):—

"We seem to have reached the maximum improvement which the present system can yield. Further ameliorative efforts of a purely reforming character can produce little fruit."

The main theory of the Labour leaders at present is for a legal minimum wage. Talking of his late wife's advocacy of this nostrum Mr. R. Macdonald tells us ("Margaret Ethel McDonald: a Memoir"): "Once she said with a whimsical smile: 'When the last Wages Board will have given its last decision, we shall still have to go upon the house tops and shout with Marx, "Workers of the World, Unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains!'"

Marx laboured to keep the working class upon the right road to their salvation. Amidst deepest poverty, hunted across frontiers, turned out of doors because of failure to find the rent, refused work even as a manual labourer, the

mighty proletarian thinker never wavered from the work of his life. The story of his struggles has never been fully told, but the glimpses we get of his life are sufficient to stimulate us to the fullest extent to prosecute the work of educating our fellow men in Socialism with the material he placed ready to our hands, and organising them for its realisation on the basis which he so clearly indicated.

A. KOHN.

ASKED & ANSWERED.

MUCH ADO ABOUT NOTHING

[To the Editor.]

An article appeared in the January issue of our paper under the title "The Pace That Kills" in which the writer, F.C.W., says: "If a cyclist is scared off" (the road) "he becomes a passenger the more for the bus, and another source of profit for the trust," etc.

This, to me, conveys an idea which is damaging to the revolutionary position of the S.P.G.B. The idea impressed on my mind by reading the passage is that it is an consumers (buyers) we are robbed.

I deny that a passenger is "another source of profit for the trust," who happens for the reasons given to become a passenger the more on the bus owned by the trust.

Profit is a part of surplus-value, and this is taken from the workers during the time spent in the process of production. Hence the source of profit is surplus-value. This point is made clear by Karl Marx in "Value, Price, and Profit." In that work (c. XI, p. 37) will be found the following:—

"Rent, Interest, and Industrial Profit are only different names for different parts of the surplus value of the commodity, or the unpaid labour enclosed in it, and they are equally derived from this source and from this source alone."

Even emphasized!]

Those who have read this brilliant work will now understand the importance of the distinction.

On the same page you will find:—

"The surplus value or that part of the total value of the commodity in which surplus labour or unpaid labour of the workingman is realised, I call Profit. The whole of that Profit is not pocketed by the employing capitalist.

The monopoly of land enables the landlord to take one part of that surplus value under the name of rent, whether the land is used for agricultural buildings or railways, or for any other productive purpose.

On the other hand, the very fact that the possession of the instruments of labour enables the employing capitalist to produce surplus value, or what comes to the same, to appropriate to himself a certain amount of unpaid labour, enables the owner of the means of labour, which he lends wholly or partly to the employing capitalist—enables, in one word, the money-lending capitalist to claim for himself under the name of interest another part of surplus value, so that there remains to the employing capitalist as such only what is called industrial or commercial profit."

Notwithstanding this, it is difficult for the poor scribe to believe that the phrase could be misinterpreted except by means of a deliberate squat.

Surplus labour (and the same applies to all labour) does not become surplus value unless it is embodied in a use-value to someone else, and there can be no profit unless this use-value is sold. In this sense, therefore, and in this limited sense only, the act of realising surplus value is a source of profit.

Taking the bus trust as a normal capitalist concern, it is clear that the number of fares is of vital importance to it, for on this depends its profit. Yet from Comrade Coates's bald statements one might infer that the trust would be just as prosperous if its buses ran empty! Obviously the advent of the passenger is essential to the making of profit. Each additional fare enables more surplus labour to be realised and more profit obtained, and may in consequence be not inaccurately described as a further source of profit to the trust.

The sentence disputed would not be improved by the wording proposed by Comrade Coates, which only says the same thing more awkwardly. It was, moreover, quite beside the purpose of the article to give a scientific dissertation on value. Brevity was necessary in order to confine attention to the main issue.

Notwithstanding this, it is difficult for the poor scribe to believe that the phrase could be misinterpreted except by means of a deliberate squat.

AN EXPLANATION.

W. AUSTIN (Small Heath) asks us to explain the meaning of the passage in the "Communist Manifesto":—

"In bourgeois society, therefore, the past dominates the present. In communist society the present dominates the past."

Under capitalism the past dominates the present because the means of production, developed from the past, and possessed to-day by the few, dominate the lives of the producers, and forms the general structure and relations of society.

Under communism the means of production would be consciously manipulated for the benefit and happiness of the members of society. The past development and experience would then be used knowingly by the members of the communist society for their well-being. This would be the domination of the past by the present as, instead of the members being dominated by a method of production, the method of production would be controlled by them.

J. F.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

L. MARKS (Manchester).—Your claim that "a Socialist party cannot afford to wait until the conditions are ripe for a sound economic organisation" needs explaining before we can accept, otherwise you state the position pretty correctly. There is room in our party for all who hold with our principles and policy, and we know of nothing that is keeping you out and preventing you from putting into practice the theories you proclaim so well in your letter.

The sentence referred to does not indicate that we are robbed as consumers, nor does it

PARIS, 1871.

—10—

ONCE again the time is drawing near when we of the Socialist Party will celebrate that memorable event in the history of the working class, that terminated in the butchery of the workers by the hirelings of the capitalist class. I speak of the Commune of Paris, 1871.

But, it may be asked, why should we, the working class in England, care a straw about the welfare of the workers of Paris? Why should we commemorate an event that took place in a foreign land forty two years ago? Is not the Parisian worker our enemy? Is he not our competitor in the industrial world? Has not France for centuries been the great antagonist of England? Was it not Napoleon III, who, after his ignominious defeat at Sedan, suggested to the victorious German that they should settle their differences and make war against the "common enemy"—England? And was it not against France that Nelson and Wellington gained their most memorable victories?

And was Paris over run by thieves, and was lawlessness rampant? Did the women rush hither and thither firing public buildings with petroleum? Were the remnants of the aristocracy that remained shot or butchered in cold blood? Were the prisons full and the "pubs" the scenes of drunken revelry? Did the working class revenge itself by the wholesale slaughter of those who had kept them in subjection? Did they withhold the means of life from those who had formerly withheld them from the workers? No! But these were the false accusations that were hurled at the heads of the Communards.

ALL TOO INNOCENT

Communards by their enemies and spread by the capitalist Press throughout the length and breadth of capitalist civilisation in order to cover the bloody vengeance the French master class had determined upon.

But what were the facts? During the two months of the Commune's reign crime was practically unknown, and Paris had never been so orderly as in those days. The warts and requirements of the people were administered in a most admirable manner, considering the circumstances, and for the "crime" of refusing to die of hunger, refusing to let their wives and children cry for bread, Paris, two months later, was a veritable sea of blood—blood of the Communards, men, women, and children.

But what were the facts? During the two months of the Commune's reign crime was practically unknown, and Paris had never been so orderly as in those days. The warts and requirements of the people were administered in a most admirable manner, considering the circumstances, and for the "crime" of refusing to die of hunger, refusing to let their wives and children cry for bread, Paris, two months later, was a veritable sea of blood—blood of the Communards, men, women, and children.

Therefore we commemorate the establishment of the Commune of Paris because it was the first successfully organised attempt by the working class to carry on the administration of affairs in their own interests, and although the success was only temporary, it is none the less a landmark of tremendous importance in working-class history.

It cannot be said that all those who participated in the establishment of the Commune were Socialists—far from it. But circumstances had arisen which necessitated the taking over of the administration of affairs in the interests of the working class of Paris, and considering the suddenness with which they were called upon to act, the success of the mighty effort, fleeting though it was, constitutes

WHATEVER CAPITALISM

has raised its hideous head.

For years after the Commune was dead the "trial" of the men, women, and children who participated in it continued, and the ferocity of the capitalist class, unsurpassed even by Nero, never abated. Hundreds were sentenced to death. Thousands continued to be transported. Husbands were torn from their wives, mothers from their children, and transported to New Caledonia, or imprisoned in the fortresses. No wonder hundreds were driven mad! All the ferocity of the savage reappeared in the modern "civilised" bourgeois in an endeavour to crush the spirit of the workers and so ensure the safety of their own class to continue their parasitic lives.

But did these tortures meted out to the defenders of the Commune kill the revolutionary spirit of these people? No. And the names of those who were afterwards tried for complicity in the Commune will be handed down to posterity as the heroes and heroines of those days of struggle. Conspicuous amongst these was Louise Michel, whose only crime was that of having tended the sick and wounded under the fire of the Versailles army. This heroine faced her accusers in court and accepted full responsibility for

EVERY FALSE CHARGE

they brought against her. Sentence of death was asked for by the prosecuting counsel, but transportation in a fortress was the sentence.

She knew the minds of those who manipulated the trials, and neither asked for nor expected

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

private property," took place.

This was the terrible "crime" of the Communards. Faced with starvation and with no guarantee from the Government that their wives and children would be provided for until such time as industry was restored to its normal state, these workingmen decided to take the administration of the affairs of Paris into their own hands, and carry on things in their own interests. They want my head; they may take it. I will never save my life by cowardice. Free I have lived, so will I die. I add but one word. Fortune is capricious; I confide to the future the care of my memory and my revenge.

And posterity will remember not only Ferré, but all those nameless ones who fell in that fight for liberty. Every year thousands of workers march to Pere la Chaise cemetery and pay their tribute to those who fell in the Commune. Thousands march through, dropping their wreaths on the huge grave in memory of the fallen, and thousands of menacing troops stand round with bayonets fixed, ready to

RE-ENACT THE SCENES

of the closing days of May, '71, should any disturbance arise. But geographical circumstances prevent us from presenting ourselves at the graves of the victims of capitalist vengeance, and we have to content ourselves with holding public meetings to commemorate that event and teach the many lessons bequeathed us by the Communards, and for which they so dearly paid.

Fellow workers, read the story of one of the greatest tragedies in the history of your class, as narrated by Lissagaray, who took an active part in it. He compiled his work chiefly from the records of the enemies of the Commune. If, having read this, there remains a spark of respect for those who oppress you, then you are not worthy of the name of men and women.

Above all, let not the efforts of the Communards and the many lessons they have left us fall upon barren soil. Let us examine and heed every detail of success and failure that we may be better able to continue the work for which so many thousands gave their lives. No local uprisings in the future, for such allow the dominant class to combine, not only nationally, but internationally, and so concentrate their forces in one locality. Let us organise throughout the five continents, wherever capitalism has wound its vile tentacles, and then all the forces of reaction must fade and crumble before our

MIGHTY ONSIAGHT.

And what if the capitalist class once again consolidate their forces to crush the revolutionary spirit of the rising proletariat? What if they should endeavour to re-enact the scenes of '71? Far better another 30,000 victims than the perpetration of a system that calls annually for the blood of many times this number. Has not the blood of the working class deluged the plains of half the world in a generation? Have not capitalist interests sacrificed myriads, from Russia to Putumayo, and from China to the Transvaal?

And cannot the international proletariat, who have faced and torn each other in the interests of their masters on the battle fields for once combat the common enemy on their own behalf?

If the Social Revolution is not ushered in in peace, then the onus will not be upon the shoulders of the working class. It is they who have suffered for ages; it is they who suffer to-day. And it is because we are suffering the ills and wrongs inflicted upon us by our oppressors that we rise in revolt to free ourselves from this tyranny.

But before we strike the blow for victory let us be assured that all our forces are equal to the occasion; that we all understand our true historic mission; and that we may go forward fearless of failure and confident of victory.

Then no power on earth will ever stem the tide of the rising international proletariat.

H. A. YOUNG.

Peckham readers should note that the local Branch has taken premises at 41, Albert road, which are open every evening. Lectures will be delivered every Sunday, admission free.

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, — The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 103 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free ... 1s. 6d.
Six " " " 9d.

The Socialist Standard,



SATURDAY, MAR. 1, 1913.

A CALL TO ARMS.

The Socialist is a confirmed optimist. His optimism is the natural outcome of his conviction of the soundness of his principles and his faith in his class. Pessimism can only come from doubt of one or the other, or both, therefore pessimism is not permissible in Socialist, and where it shows its dour visage, calls aloud for attention to the victim's dietary, either of the mind or the stomach.

But though the Socialist's confidence that the future is with him, reduces pessimism to a symptom of ill-health, even the healthy, vigorous revolutionary may become impatient without suspecting himself of being out of sorts.

And when one thinks of the attitude of mind of the working class as a class toward our movement, of the apathy with which they receive our message, of the dull forbearance with which they accept the contemptuous husks that the master class throw to them, it is small wonder that the enlightened worker sometimes grows impatient at the slowness of the pace, and curses the inertia of the proletarian mass in deep, broad and bitter terms.

Of course the Socialist knows that industrial evolution will make the working class revolutionary; but he has been used to regard himself and his Socialist principles—revolutionary products of that same industrial evolution—as the instrument through which it works, and it is here that the impatience and disappointment is bred. It is easy enough to find acceptance of our message wherever our means enable us to deliver it. Our arguments are too powerful to be withstood; our reasoning is too close to be denied. But, after all, what difference is there between he who apathetically admits the correctness of our position and that other who passively differs from us?

Socialism does not thrive on inactivity. The passive assenter is corpse in this act, and Socialism can only be brought in by live men and women. It is not passive agreement that is wanted, but fighters—organised workers. It is possible to carry on our propaganda without money, but without workers never.

While it may be doubted whether the apathetic believer in our principles whom this call to arms might influence is worth having at all, it might be pointed out for the edification of those upon whom the fact has never been thoroughly impressed, how completely essential to working-class emancipation is the instrument of a strong working-class political organisation. Those who assent to our position, even though the extent of their support is listening to us until the collection bag heaves in sight, concede, of course, that it is necessary to capture the political machine, through which the powers of coercion are organised, nourished and controlled, in order to disarm the master class, as the preliminary to divesting them of their privileges.

The capture of this political machine is not to be the work of a moment. It must be captured by siege, not carried by storm. Essential as organisation would be for the last method, if

that were at all possible, it is doubly so for the slow tedious of the first. For where the position has to be fought for inch by inch, where the Parliamentary machine has to be captured seat by seat, the very perfection of organisation is needed to synchronise action, to sustain the attack, to guard against treachery, and to secure a sound foundation for our feet to rest upon.

The working class must proceed to its emancipation as a class. Individual acts and individual effort can never throw off the capitalist oppressor. Just as, hereafter, the individual must in all public matters be sunk in the community, so, in the fight for that hereafter, the individual must be lost within the class. Every

step must be taken as a class; every battle must be fought on class lines; every activity, no matter whether on the industrial field or in the political arena, must be carried through as part of the class plan of action. What does this mean? What can it mean but organisation—organisation on the industrial field—organisation on the political field?

The unity of aim which is so essential to the successful assault of the capitalist citadel can only be secured by setting up the fundamental principles appertaining to the cause, and founding thereon, with rocklike rigidity, the organisation for each sphere of activity. The basis then is provided for united action. The principles enshrined represent the class thought, the class intelligence, the class predominance over the individual. Each one, in joining the organisation, lays his individuality on the altar of those principles, and becomes a link in the armour, an atom in the whole machine.

Just as, without those principles there can be no sound organisation, because there can be no bond of union, so without organisation there can be no unity because there can be no control. Organisation upon basic principles is the instrument which takes the power away from the individual and vests it in the mass. When the individual joins such an organisation he surrenders himself to the organisation, to be tested and tried and controlled by the principles of that organisation.

Such a political organisation is vitally necessary to the successful prosecution of the working-class struggle for emancipation so long as it is true that that emancipation must be sought in the political field, because only through it can the working class control its own political actions, only through it can the class prevent itself from drifting, only through it can the class become superior to the individual, only through it can the class secure itself against the treachery of such as might not be able to withstand the offers of the capitalist enemy.

We say it is a lie; the solution is ridiculously easy. We have simply to sweep away those who stand between us and all that is good under the sun. We have to take away from them all the sources of wealth and all the means of producing wealth, and to use them for the satisfaction of our own needs. Who gave the world into the hands of these idlers, pray?

To the work of throwing down the barriers

which the masters have set up between our class

and the world, of setting humanity free to pro-

duce what humanity needs without let or hin-

drance, we solemnly call all working people.

To Arms! The World for the Workers!

PECKHAM BRANCH.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

WILL BE HELD
AT BRANCH PREMISES,
41, ALBERT ROAD,

EVERY SUNDAY

AFTERNOON (open discussion) - - 3.30

EVENING (lecture) - - - 8.0

EVERY WEDNESDAY

AT 8.30 THERE WILL BE

AN IMPROMPTU DEBATE.

All Heartily Welcome.

Admission Free.

SOCIALISM

versus

TARIFF REFORM.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth.

Post Free 1d.

It would almost seem as if there is no manhood left in the vast bulk of the working class of the world—yet it is little more than forty years since the deathless effort of the working-men of Paris. We know, of course, that the working class still have within them the capacity to repeat that effort. The evil is not there, in the shirking of danger, but in the indolent acceptance of the *status quo*, and the cynical disregard of the facts of working-class existence.

It is always harder to take up such a fight as the workers to-day have before them, just as in ordinary warfare it is harder to march than to fight. The excitement of the direct attack better fits our animal spirits than the weary labour of outflanking. Yet, though all our activities in the struggle can be translated into no more attractive term than the humdrum word "work," the battle is none the less real, none the less trying, none the less necessary, and none the less worthy of the highest in our manhood.

What workingman or woman of any spirit can think without shame of the position of the workers under the present system. Cut off from all the means of life; doomed to toil unceasingly in sordid and filthy surroundings for no higher end than to heap up wealth for idlers; constrained to crawl and cringe and fawn and lick-spittle before those who cannot even produce their own livelihood, theirs is indeed a position to be hotly blushed for. Nevertheless there are those, even among the working class, who assert that the workers have not the capability to order things more to their advantage.

The idea is shameful. It is an insult, not only to our class, but to human intelligence. The wealth at present produced is sufficient to give comfort and even a degree of luxury to every member of the community. The whole of that wealth is produced by the working class. We are asked to believe that the working class intelligence is not capable of solving the simple problem of distributing that wealth among the people who produce it.

We say it is a lie; the solution is ridiculously easy. We have simply to sweep away those who stand between us and all that is good under the sun. We have to take away from them all the sources of wealth and all the means of producing wealth, and to use them for the satisfaction of our own needs. Who gave the world into the hands of these idlers, pray?

To the work of throwing down the barriers which the masters have set up between our class and the world, of setting humanity free to produce what humanity needs without let or hindrance, we solemnly call all working people.

The importance, the prime necessity, of the working-class political organisation, then, must be admitted by all those who agree that the workers must win their emancipation through the capture of the political machinery. In the face of this what is the position of the person who, while agreeing with the principles of the Socialist Party, fails to become organised therein? He is one failing in his duty to his class, for he is one who refuses to make himself amenable on the political plane, to the class conscious proletariat. He is a menace, therefore, to the principles he agrees with, and to the class he belongs to.

There is a different attitude of mind, however, to which we must now address ourselves—the attitude of mind of the unbeliever, the sceptic, the man who does not think it can be done, or does not think it is worth while.

This is the attitude of the mental loafers, the people who are too lazy to think for themselves, or to examine the plain, simple facts which we unceasingly present in these columns and from our platforms.

And what are these facts? The hard, cheerless lot of those who produce the wealth, and the life of luxurious ease of those who produce nothing. The growing productiveness of labour and the increasing poverty and insecurity of the labourer. Thousands starving because too much wealth exists—because they have filled the warehouses and glutted the markets, and are not wanted in the workshops and factories.

Strange inversions of the natural order of things, one would think. Yet they seem to have no significance to millions upon millions who should be the first to demand their meaning.

OUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE INTERNATIONAL.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

193, Grays Inn Road,
London, W.C.

Jan. 31, 1913.

C. J. Kluser,
Morgantown, West Virginia.

Dear Mr. Kluser, — In answer to your query regarding our attitude toward the "International" as represented by the "International Socialist Bureau," the following points from our official records will be sufficient.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain was formed in 1904 as the culmination of a revolt of the rank and file of the Social Democratic Federation against the reformism and corruption of the official section.

The S.P.G.B. was represented by two delegates at the "International Socialist Congress" at Amsterdam in 1904. Their report appeared in the official organ of the S.P.G.B. (the "Socialist Standard") for September 1904.

In the "Socialist Standard" for January 1905 appears an address, in three languages, to the "International" stating the S.P.G.B. attitude toward "a communication from the Secretary of the British section of the Amsterdam Congress asking among other things whether the Party (S.P.G.B.) favoured the holding of a Conference with a view to forming in England a national committee to deal with matters arising out of the International Congress." The address continues: "We have declined to take part in any such conference on the ground that it should be the task of the Socialist Party alone to deal with these questions, and that, judging from the composition of the British Section at the Amsterdam Congress, at which the Party was represented, the proposed committee would consist of men who are in no sense of the word Socialist."

The Socialists are treating Comrade Mras not better than they treat me. They tell him he should burn the booklets he ordered of you rather than sell them. They display a genuine fury against the circulation of your booklet. Comrade Mras wrote to the National Secretary, John Work, of Chicago, asking him for information and sent him a copy of your booklet. Comrade Work sustains the views of our antagonists, as you see from the enclosed letter.

N.W. there is a great deal of insincerity, not on our part, but either on the part of John Work and his followers, or on your part. I have studied many Socialist standard works, and I find the principles contained in your booklet in perfect harmony with the teachings of Marx, Engels, Dietzege, Bebel, Bix, Morris, Hyndman, and the rest of the great Socialist champions. On the other hand, John Work, John Sparro, and Morris Hillquit are trimmers who strive to hide the basic principles of Marxian Socialism, for the purpose of catching votes. We think, however, that you deserve credit for the frankness with which you stated the said principles.

Be this as it may, we ask you to send us a clear, concise, and official statement concerning your attitude to the International Socialist Party and its Bureau. Please make your statement as strong, official and efficacious as possible. We do not like to be abused on account of your booklet, in which we placed in good faith our confidence. Kindly return also John Work's letter.

Please favour us with an answer. With best wishes and kindest regards,

Respectfully yours,
(Signed) C. J. KUSER.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY (of America).

National Headquarters. John M. Work,
111 North Market Street, Chicago.

December 9, 1912.

Joseph Mras,
Morgantown, West Virginia.

Dear Comrade,

According to the Bulletin of the International Socialist Bureau, the Socialist Party of Great Britain is not affiliated with the Bureau.

The book is apparently the personal opinion of some individual or small group of individuals. It does not correspond with the policy of the Socialist Party of the United States.

Fraternal yours,
(Signed) JOHN M. WORK.
National Secretary.

JMW—GM

Socialist Conferences shall be open only to all avowed Socialist bodies that accept the essential principle of Socialism, i.e., socialisation of the means of production and distribution; union and international union of workers; Socialist conquest of the Public Powers by the proletariat organised as a class party recognising and proclaiming the class war, running all candidates on this basis, and adopting an attitude of hostility under all circumstances to sections of the capitalist party.

(b) That all previous resolutions (defining the basis of admission to the Congress) be rescinded.

(c) That all matters upon the agenda be discussed in open Congress, and that the methods of discussion in commissions be entirely abolished.

(d) That each delegate shall have one vote, but it a poll be demanded each party represented shall be entitled to one vote.

(e) That representation upon the Bureau shall be upon the basis of parties represented at the Congress, each of which shall be entitled to one representative on the Bureau, etc., etc.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Head Office, London,
"December, 1905."

This request to the Bureau was not granted.

At the Annual Conference of the Socialist Party of Great Britain held in London at Easter, 1907 (vide report in official organ, April 1907), the first business of the Conference on the second day was a discussion on the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart. The questions were whether the S.P.G.B. should seek representation at that Congress under the conditions laid down by the non-Socialist British National Committee and the International Socialist Bureau, and what was the best method of getting into communication with the known representatives of that uncompromising policy of which the S.P.G.B. are exponents in this country.

The matter was then discussed at the Annual Conference of the Socialist Party of Great Britain at Easter, 1905, and reported in the official organ for May, 1905. At that Conference it was moved "that the Executive Committee be instructed to draw up a series of resolutions embodying the following points: —

(1) That only Socialist organisations recognising the class war in theory and practice should be represented at the International Socialist Congress.

(2) That disputes between the various parties in each country as to the genuineness of their respective organisations be settled by the Congress itself.

The scandal of a non-Socialist majority of the British delegation bussing the International relationships of the Socialist Party is also referred to in the leading article of the "Socialist Standard" for June, 1905.

In the "Socialist Standard" for January, 1906, the following manifesto to the Socialist workers was issued by the Executive Committee of the S.P.G.B. As stated in the pamphlet, it represents not the views of an individual, but the accepted views of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

The position laid down in the pamphlet is the Socialist position and nothing else. It is based on the bed-rock of Marxism. The proof that the pamphlet expresses the Socialist position is contained within the pamphlet itself. The paltry subterfuge of those incapable of answering its arguments only succeeds in being ridiculous.

I am returning herewith letter from John M. Work as requested.

Trusting the above explanation will prove satisfactory, I remain, yours respectfully,

A. L. COX,
Gen. Sec. pro. tem.

NEW S.P.G.B. PUBLICATION.

We draw readers' attention to the displayed advertisement appearing elsewhere in this issue

PRECEPT AND PRACTICE.

THE POST OFFICE'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE "WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC."

The paternal care of the authorities for the morale of their white slaves reaches its culmina-

"Under the title of 'Forewarned is Forearmed' the girls are warned that they should never speak to strangers, either men or women, in the street, in shops, in stations, in trains, in lonely country roads, or in places of amusement, and thus gauging whether seconds were wasted. A complete record was kept, the operator not knowing she was under observation. She was prohibited indulging in private conversation, and the supervisors saw to it that the regulation was not broken."

Such intense exploitation and deadly monotony is the surest generator of an unhealthy craving for excitement after working hours—and the capitalists' only remedy is—an idiotic circular!

K.

TRADE INCREASE AND POVERTY.

From time to time we see glowing accounts of the progress of trade in the columns of the capitalist Press. A ready sale is found for volumes that describe this progress in detail and calculate future possibilities. The worker is expected to rejoice because markets expand. As the red-herring of commercial rivalry is dangled before him, his breast should swell with patriotic pride because the cheapness of his native commodities—produced by the cheap labour of his class—has gained preference in the world's market.

"Our trade has gone up by leaps and bounds." "Our exports are the highest on record." "We have not yet reached the crest of the wave, and we look forward to greater trade activities, higher profits, increased wealth." So runs the chant of the "Chiozza Money" to the "commercial spirit," which is the capitalist God Almighty.

In monotonous repetition for a hundred years trade has risen and fallen like the mercury in a barometer. Statisticians have recorded and economists have prophesied; but just as the weather expert is powerless to add to the total sunshine, or even to correctly forecast the weather for more than a few days, so all the experts and captains of industry, bewildered and paralysed with every crisis, can neither prevent markets from contracting, nor predict the state of trade month hence. Every trade crisis up to the present, falling like a bolt from the blue, has found them busy with favourable estimates of future prosperity.

The engineer who sets up a machine in the modern factory is expected to understand its parts, no matter how intricate they may be. But the capitalist neither controls the mechanism of trade, nor yet understands it. Periodically it gets out of gear, and millions of workers are plunged into extreme poverty. The Bank Act is suspended and prayers are offered up in the churches for the revival of trade. Having done so much, the boasted "directive ability" can only wait till the fever subsides.

Of course there are political quacks who blame the fiscal policy of the day. It is easily shown, however, that crises are no respecters of fiscal systems, that bad trade falls periodically on the world's market and on every capitalist country, no matter whether free trade or protectionist.

Trade rises and falls in monotonous rhythm, now sweeping the workers into the mines and factories, next throwing them back on the streets workless and starving. Side by side with rise and fall, with ever-increasing wealth, powers to produce wealth, growing luxury, statistics of trade that make new records on an ascending scale, there exists in unbroken continuity—the poverty of the working class.

The history of the working class during the 19th century is a record of poverty—caused by robbery, for an idle class cannot obtain wealth by other means. In every period, whether trade was good or bad, the effects of working class poverty—discontent—was in evidence. Machine smashers, co-operators, the early trade unionists and the Chartists, were all engaged in the same desperate cause, fighting poverty. In one passage in "Social England" Mr. J. E. Symes writes: "Hitherto the working class had gained little by the series of inventions and discoveries that characterised the half century before the Reform Bill. The wealth of England had been doubled; but the wages for most kinds of labour had hardly, if at all, increased, and the conditions under which the work was done had in

many respects deteriorated. Children were plentiful at a penny a day; they were often swept into the factories when they could hardly walk."

From the Reform Bill onward the wealth of the idle class has increased enormously. As Lord Rosebery said in 1910, "capital is being sent abroad because there is so much of it available. We have enough for ourselves and to spare." Trade, measured by imports, had risen from 64½ millions in 1800 to 890 millions in 1908, yet so little does increased prosperity affect the working class that Mr. Lloyd George declared in 1911 that the aggregate amount of poverty was greater to day than it had ever been in the history of our country.

When trade rises the wealth of the capitalist class increases more rapidly. Whether trade is good or bad they continue their robbery, adding to their wealth all the time. Trade benefits only the capitalist class. The bulk of society—the working class—produce and distribute all wealth; they are not assisted in any way by trade. Instead, they are hindered, because production is stopped when the market is choked, instead of when the requirements of the workers are satisfied.

The capitalist levies tribute on the workers; trade exists for the sole purpose of collecting that tribute—it serves no other purpose. Human beings provided themselves with the necessities of life for thousands of years before trade came into existence. It is not trade that gives us the necessities of life to-day any more than it gave them to our forefathers in those distant ages, but it is man's labour applied to the natural material alone which supplies them.

Because the land, mines, factories, and means of transport belong to the capitalist class, the workers are left with nothing but their labour-power—the value-imparting energy, which, of itself, cannot produce a pin's value without the nature given material to expend it upon. That labour-power the capitalist must have. Tools and machinery do not operate of themselves, and the capitalist hates work like poison. He therefore buys labour-power through managers and foremen, because any sort of contact with "honest toil" is obnoxious to him. A bargain is struck with the worker, who is hurried into acceptance by the knowledge that it is the only way by which he can obtain the necessities of life, and, further, that the supply of labour-power exceeds the demand. The energy that he brings to the market is bought by the capitalist at a price which fluctuates around its cost of production. The capitalist makes no distinction between commodities: the law that fixes the price of pig-iron or sides of bacon, determines for him the price of the human energy he buys on the labour market. But human energy applied to the nature given material creates value—more value than it has consumed in its own production, in other words, the cost of production of the labourer represents lower value than that which he adds to the raw material, when he transforms it into useful articles (or, by changing its position, renders it available where it is needed) to be sold for the benefit of the capitalist. The difference between the value of the necessities of life obtained by one worker and the value he adds to raw material by his labour is not easily seen, but a view of the industrial field, by means of statistics that show the actual distribution of wealth and the relative numbers of both classes, shows it to be enormous.

According to Mr. Chiozza Money, the working class, numbering 38 millions, get approximately one-third of the wealth produced, while the capitalist class of six or seven millions luxuriate on two-thirds.

No wonder they boast of their trade, when it enables them to levy a toll like this on the working class! No wonder that they want the worker to believe that their prosperity means his prosperity! No wonder they are ever asserting that man cannot provide for himself without trade and commerce! They fear that the worker will wake up to the fact that their prosperity means nothing to him; that the intricate mechanism of trade can be dispensed with when the means of life cease to belong to a class whose only function is robbery, and whose only right is the armed might they control through the political machine.

F. F.

March, 1913.

March, 1913.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

JOTTINGS.

—oo—

SEVERAL ruffles have lately appeared upon the surface of the hitherto tranquil sea of Liberalism. The Labour Party are apparently getting tired of being led by the nose into various positions of ridicule, and are now protesting against the treatment as a poor return for the support they have so generously given the Liberals.

Up to now they have implicitly believed in the sincerity of the Government, and it is a matter fruitful of consternation to them to suddenly discover that they have been fooled all the time.

The latest sell is the throwing out of the Franchise Bill, upon which the Labour Party built such great hopes, which were so disastrously shattered. Even Keir Hardie felt compelled to chide the Government because it had destroyed his faith in its honest intentions. As he pathetically remarked in the House of Commons: "In common with the women outside, I trusted implicitly in the word of the Prime Minister. I cannot do so now."

They call it "The Great Betrayal." Betrayal of what? The Labour Party? Rats! It was a haggard game all through, but the Labour Party could not see it.

Now, it seems, there is to be "no more flirting with Liberalism." (They admit the connection, you see!) Does this mean that henceforth the Labour Party are going on independent lines?

* * *

Notwithstanding the resolution adopted at the recent conference to the effect that no support be given to other parties under pain of censure, it is difficult to see how they can remain independent in view of their identical interests.

Members of the party will support the Liberals in the future as in the past. Naturally they are sore at their continual disappointments. This, however, is not troubling the Government, as, after a little reflection, the Labourites will come to heel. Speeches made by Labour members on Liberal platforms indicate that they are with them in spirit, as well as in policy. The following is characteristic.

* * *

In November last Mr. A. Stanley, M.P., speaking at a Liberal meeting, said "he supported the Government because it had done more good work than any previous Government, and he was not prepared to endanger its position so as to put the Tories into office." ("Daily News," 16.11.12.) This is precisely the Labour Party's position. We have continued to point out that the Labour Party, ever since its inception, has been in the House of Commons only on suffrage; that it depended for its existence upon the goodwill of Liberals. Their interests are bound up indissolubly together, and to attempt to run counter to the Liberals would be to invite disaster and to jeopardise their existence as a party at the first general election. This view is amply borne out by Philip Snowden himself. Speaking at the Caxton Hall on behalf of Proportional Representation (28.1.13) he admitted that "at least five-sixths of the Labour members of the House of Commons held their seats because of the electoral support which has been given by other political parties." (There are others, then?) "If the forty Labour members in the House of Commons under our present electoral system had to face three-cornered contests in the next election, I am perfectly certain that not half a dozen of them would be returned. There is not a constituency in the country where we could return a labour candidate if we had to oppose the combined opposition of the other political parties. We have a system under which the Labour Party represents twenty per cent. of the electorate, and yet it is within the power of our political opponents to prevent that twenty per cent. from getting a single representative in the House of Commons."

You now have forty Labour members dependent upon the goodwill and support of other political parties, and they know it. Now I will leave it to you to conceive how that knowledge must affect the action of those members in the House. They cannot be independent. They cannot consider

the interests of the labour element of the community only." (Italics mine.) In other words, it is not a Labour party.

* * *

Whilst Snowden may have cleared the air a bit, yet what he has stated is nothing new. We pointed it out years ago. Its only redeeming feature is that they now admit that which they have always strenuously denied—that they do not represent the working class. On their own showing the Labour Party, as representative of Trade Unionism, is untrustworthy; to the worker seeking political freedom it is a menace.

This admission, coupled with recent events, implies a complete surrender. Their boast of a new determination to pursue an independent policy is not only laughable, it is hypocritical.

* * *

The feature that marked the splendid achievement of Captain Scott in reaching the South Pole, was that he blamed his failure to return to safety upon God. From the point of view of science this implies a weakness. It is weak in that, believing in the supernatural, he could not do full justice to that science on whose behalf he was venturing, and in whose conclusions the supernatural has no place. It was weak, also, in that it implied a contradiction. Equipped, as he must have been, with a certain knowledge of geological and meteorological science (which alone is sufficient to explain why scientists reject the theory of an "all wise" Providence) he yet submitted to what was, to him, the most powerful factor of all—supernatural intervention.

This brings us to the question: If Captain Scott and his party had been completely successful, who would have got the credit, God or Scott?

* * *

Speaking of religion, one hears from time to time a wail go up from the churches, bemoaning the apathy of the masses of the people to the dole which is so assiduously handed out for their assimilation. The mass of the people have ceased to trouble about the "spirituality and immortality" of the soul. This is causing great concern to the dispensers of the aforesaid commodity. The Bishop of Northampton in his Lenten Pastoral says: "The only topic fit for a Christian pulpit is the Gospel of Jesus Christ, yet it appears to be the one topic that fails to draw. Crowds will gather in so-called 'places of worship' to hear the authority of the Bible derided, the leading dogmas of Christianity attacked, the moral law superseded, and its tremendous sanctions called in question: they will encourage by foolish applause political and Socialist appeals, harangues on the latest craze or the latest scandal, but the unadulterated Gospel leaves them cold and unemotional."

* * *

All of which indicates the approaching demise of superstitious dogmas. This is due in a great measure to the spread of knowledge of the world in which we live. But especially have the working class become indifferent to religious teaching, because they are more concerned with trying to keep "body and soul" together in their present insecurity of existence, without speculating as to what will be their portion in the dim obscurity of a future state. The workers are beginning to find out that the Church is on the side of those who exploit them, who, in fact, sanction the system wherein the worker is taught "obedience to our civil and ecclesiastical superiors" so as to keep him in a condition of meekness and subjection. As Mr. Frederic Harrison, in his latest book, "The Evolution of Positive Religion," points out: "The Church as a body, officially, and apart from a few isolated persons, sticks to its masters—the governing majority—and to its 'patrons'—the rich owners of living. There is not, and there never has been in Christendom, a communion which was socially, morally, and politically, so closely identified with the governing classes of the State."

* * *

One does not expect, of course, the Bishop to be acquainted with the teachings of Marx and Engels. He would learn that all our political, moral, religious, ethical, and philosophical ideas

have their origin, not in God, but in material conditions. The way in which the various necessities of life are produced determines to a great extent a man's outlook upon life and his relation to his fellow men. As the modes of production are constantly changing, so are the moral, religious, and ethical ideas of men.

This factor it is which explains the fewer and fewer in the congregations and the increasing poverty of the churches, despite their backing by the moneyed class.

Attempts have been made to coerce the people back to the churches and chapels by the introduction of variety entertainments on a Sunday afternoon—cinematograph displays and even rag time dances; but it has had no appreciable effect upon the attendance. To quote from the S.P.G.B. pamphlet "Socialism and Religion":

"Under all its multifarious forms the modern mission of religion is to cloak the hideousness and injustice of social conditions and keep the exploited meek and submissive."

* * *

It is the historic mission of the working class to free itself of wage-slavery and its accompanying superstitions. Socialism is the antidote to religion, and a continued application of its principles upon the understanding of the workers will in time secure, not only freedom from all forms of superstition, but complete possession of the means of life and the consequent disappearance of parasitism, both clerical and secular.

* * *

A teacher of English, in order to disprove the charge that high school pupils know little about the really vital things that are going on around them, gave a test in which she asked for definitions of such terms as "tariff," "reciprocity," and "the Labour problem." In the paper of a fifteen-year-old girl she found this: "The Labour problem is how to keep the working class happy without paying them enough to live on."

TOM SALA.

LIGHT, MORE LIGHT!

An Economic Class is held at the Head Office on Friday nights at 8 o'clock. Will those who have nothing to learn come and teach?

* * *

A Central Speakers' Class has been established in order to equip more comrades for the platform. The classes are held at the Head Office, 193, Gray's Inn Road, every Saturday evening at 7.30. It is urged upon all comrades to attend.

COMMUNE MEETINGS:

WILL TAKE PLACE ON

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 19th AT 8 p.m.

AT

EAST HAM TOWN HALL (large hall)

AND ON

SUNDAY, MARCH 17th AT 8 p.m.

AT

LATCHMERE BATHS (large hall)

LATCHMERE RD., BATTERSEA.

Admission Free. — All Welcome. At both meetings doors open at 7.30.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVER—

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"The New World" (West Ham).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Gold and Prices," by Professor W. J. Ashley. 1s.
London: Longmans, Green.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MARCH.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	9th.	16th.	23rd.	30th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	A. Kohn	A. Barker	J. Roe
" Edmonton Green "	7.30	J. Elliott	F. Vickers	C. Baggett
Finsbury Park	7.30	C. Gatter	A. W. Pearson	F. W. Stearn
Forest Gate, (Station)	3.30	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	J. Fitzgerald
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30	C. Parker	T. W. Allen	A. Anderson
Ilford (station)	7.30	F. Vickers	A. Anderson	A. Kohn
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	A. W. Pearson	A. Leslie	F. Vickers
" Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	A. Kohn	C. Parker	B. Young
Hatton Garden, Edgware Rd., Islington	11.30	C. Baggett	J. Fitzgerald	J. G. Stone
Tooting Broadway	11.30	S. Blake	J. Rourke	A. Gatter
Tottenham, West Green Crn.	11.30	J. Roe	A. Timms	A. Leslie
"	7.30	F. J. Rourke	R. Fox	F. Leigh
Walham Green Church	7.30	T. W. Allen	F. J. Rourke	S. Blake
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	11.30	A. Hoskyns	A. Timms	R. Fox
"	7.30	R. Fox	R. Fox	C. Baggett
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	J. Fitzgerald	A. Timms	A. Parker
"	7.30	A. Timms	A. Kohn	W. Lewington
MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Crn. 8.30.				
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.				
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-nd., Earl'sfield, 8. Giesbach-nd., Highgate, N. Queen's-nd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.				
FRIDAYS.—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.				
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Amburst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.				

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:
193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—F. Cadman, Sec., 2, Burleigh House, Beaumont Street, Chelsea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman, 88, Britannia-nd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EARLSFIELD.—R. B. Goodwin, Sec., 329, Earlsfield rd., Garratt-la. Branch meets 29, Thornehill Road, Garratt-lane, 1st and 3rd Weds., 8 p.m.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-nd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Communications to Secretary, 97 Thorold Road, Ilford. Particulars of Branch meetings from secretary.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-nd., Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nuford Place, Edgware-road.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portman-nd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., at 8 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-nd., Queen's-nd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashley House School, 150, York-nd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-nd., Newington Green. Branch meets Mondays at 8.15 at 104, Farleigh-nd.

TOOTING.—C. Elliott, Sec., 4 Denison-nd., Merton, S.W. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).

TOTTENHAM.—F. Fryer, Sec., 3 Gloucester-nd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-nd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badis road, Branch meets Mondays at 8 at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road, Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to Secretary 129, Morville-street, Bow, E. Branch meets alternate Mons., 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms 459, Green St., Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Road, Wood Green, N. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Mondays at 8.30 at School Hall, Brook-nd., Wood Green.

WORTHING.—G. Stoner, Sec., 31 Southfield-road, Broadwater, Worthing. Branch meets altern. Tues. 8.30 at Newland Rd. Coffee Rooms.

SECOND EDITION.

SOCIALISM & RELIGION.

The Party's pronouncement on this interesting subject

This new edition of this useful work is enlarged to 48 pages, and contains a preface.

Post Free - - - - - 1½d.

from Handicraft
to Capitalism,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

POST FREE - - - - - 1½d.

THE WORKING CLASS,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free - - - - - 1½d.

The CAPITALIST CLASS,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free - - - - - 1½d.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fifth, [1] Edition with [preface].

Explains the Party's position toward the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

Post free 1½d. per copy from the S.P.G.B.
193, Grays Inn-road, London, W.C.

ART LABOUR, AND SOCIALISM

By WILLIAM MORRIS

Post Free - - - - - 1½d.

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC,

By F. ENOKIA.

Price 4d. - - - - - Post Free 5d.

THE COMMUNIST MANIFESTO,

By MARX & ENGELS.

Post Free - - - - - 1½d.

THE
SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, welfare, security, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

—10—

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.

OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT

7.30 p.m.

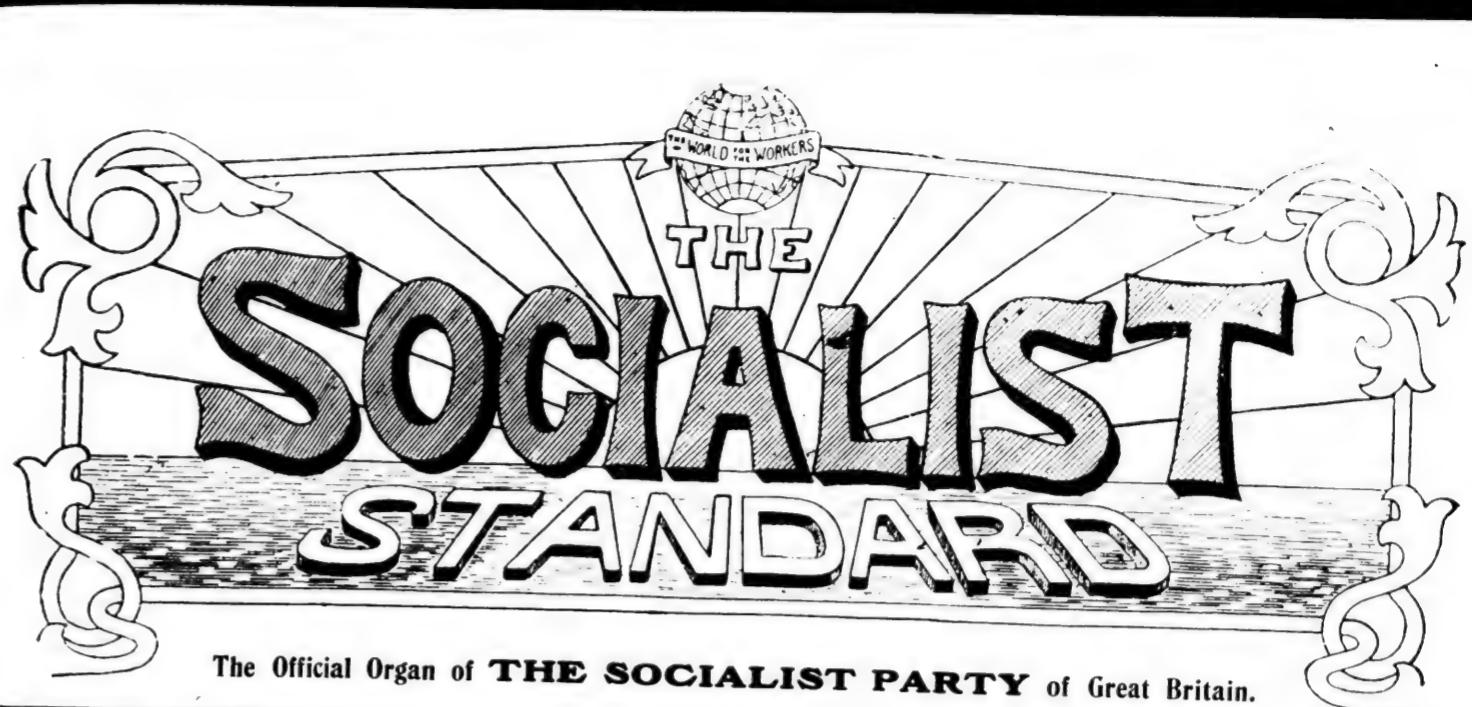
THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth.

3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. - - - 5/6 post free.

SINGLE YEAR VOL. - - - 3/- " "

Printed by A. JACOBS, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.



The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

No. 104. VOL. 9.]

LONDON, APRIL 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

SOCIALISM AND ULTIMATE ORIGINS.

HOW SCIENCE IS PROSTITUTED TO CAPITALIST INTERESTS.

EVERY scientific discovery that helps us to understand Nature is of interest to the Socialist. Socialism is grounded in science, and being a comparatively new philosophy is forced to be complete because, when, by means of the Materialist Conception of History, the Socialist has explained the growth and development of Society, he is called upon to explain every physical and natural phenomenon, even to the existence of life itself. Biology has its materialist conception in the "struggle for existence"; life and the resulting struggle being engendered by the conditions existing previously, that can also be explained from a materialist basis. In one sense the Socialist is only concerned with the "class struggle," but the scientist, as well as the priest and politician, is in the pay of the capitalist, and is expected to perform his share of the general work of mystifying the working class.

For centuries the only explanation of life and nature has been provided by religion, but religion has lost its hold on the majority of the workers. Nevertheless, nature's methods and laws still remain unexplained to them. The discoveries of scientists and the generalisations that follow them are filtered through the capitalist Press and cheap magazines with criticism and comment calculated to discredit them if they conflict with orthodox dogma.

To keep the workers ignorant on all questions is obviously to the interest of the capitalist class and those who serve them. For the reason the worker who seeks information should go to the actual authorities themselves. Darwin can only be understood from his own works; those who have tried to improve on them, either through design or through incompetency, have invariably failed. Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific Socialism, have never been improved upon, because the working-class position as laid down by them was, and still is, complete. The S.P.G.B. is organized on that position, and up to the present has discovered no reason for the slightest deviation.

The scientist—for a consideration—endeavours to reconcile opposites: science with religion. The B.S.P., I.L.P., and Fabian Society attempt the same reconciliation with regard to Socialism and religion, and with the same object in view—a place in the sun, a seat in the House, or a soft job in some Government department. But in spite of their attempts at reconciliation, the original works still remain irreconcilable.

Scientific discoveries invariably go to strengthen materialist conceptions; they sometimes bring the whole question of ultimate origins under discussion. At first the scientists range themselves on either side, some favouring while others oppose the materialist concept; but what the worker is finally asked to believe (chiefly on trust) is that the discovery does not clash with

original superstitions, but in reality strengthens and makes them more clear.

The supposed discovery by Sir W. Ramsey is an instance. He claims to have created matter out of "immaterial ether." The "London Budget" published an account of the supposed discovery under the heading: "Turning Energies into Matter," and summed up the whole question in the following paragraph.

...

"Rather the greater effect of results of researches in this direction would be from a psychical and ethical standpoint, confirming what has been urged by small bands of advanced thinkers. That the materialist conception of not only science, but of the whole world is a fallacy. Mrs. Eddy's contention that the material world about us is merely apparent and non-existent seems to be a long way vindicated."

In other words, scientists have succeeded in creating matter; the existence of matter is a fallacy.

The pseudo, newspaper scientist, with an apparent and non-existent tongue in an unreal cheek, propounds theories on the origin of matter while discrediting its actual existence. No doubt his salary is just as unreal. His employer would certainly be justified in ignoring his existence when it was due, if he did not know that such piffle is written in his class interest.

The scientist accepts matter as he finds it; he never thinks of questioning its reality in the laboratory. To him matter is an aggregation of atoms. He knows the relative weights of the atoms that make up the different elements. Dalton was the first to observe that elements combine with each other only in certain fixed proportions by weight, and he concluded that their ultimate atoms must bear to one another the same relationship of weight. The atom of hydrogen gas is the lightest known, and is taken as the unit by which to measure the rest. The scientist utilises that standard of measurement and the results always justify its adoption.

Although disagreeing as to the nature of the atom, no scientist denies its existence. Professor Thomson affirms the existence of atoms when he says: "Within the last few years improvement in methods, giving more direct information of the atom was almost entirely due to the fact that we had electrified it."

The students of Nature in the Grecian period came to the conclusion that all matter was the same matter, the difference in the elements being due to the difference in size, weight, and formation of the atoms that composed them. They arrived at this conclusion merely by common observation, without the methods and appliances of modern science. They saw that a garment soaked with water parted with it gradually when exposed to wind and sun, that

a ring worn on the finger was reduced in weight by friction, the particles lost being so small that they were unable to detect them. They found this process common to all substances and concluded that matter was composed of atoms. More than 2,000 years afterwards Dalton verified their conclusions by discovering a method of weighing atoms. To-day scientists are electrifying them. Both these performances have confirmed the truth of what was postulated by the Greeks—a glowing testimony to their powers of observation and deduction.

It does not in the least detract from their intelligence that the modern scientist claims to split up the atom itself into still smaller particles and suggests that they are merely centres of energy. For he only rings the changes and tries to prove that matter is a manifestation of force instead of force being a manifestation or property of matter. The existence of both matter and force is never called in question, on the contrary, it is affirmed, even by those who deny its reality.

The capitalist class, owning an apparent world, real or not, do not value it the less because pseudo-scientists and faith healers say its material existence is a fallacy. They know it is better to be capitalists than wage slaves. There is no fallacy about possessing a share in the means of wealth production and living by exploitation. It matters nothing to the capitalist whether the universe was created by a supreme being or whether Gustave Le Bon says that "the ether of the universe is apparent to us as matter when it is whirled and pulsated into vortex rings." The essential point is always admitted—that matter is apparent and not "merely apparent," whatever difference or distinction there may be.

Mrs. Eddy's contention that matter is non-existent is destructive of her particular religion, for there is nothing miraculous about "the faith that moves mountains" if the mountains are not real. The everyday actions of faith healers and pseudo scientists are a direct contradiction to the doctrines they profess to believe and teach. They continue to act exactly as other human beings do, in adapting themselves to their material surroundings—material interests dominate all their actions.

From another quarter comes the assertion that mind is the only thing of which we are certain, of which we know anything at all; and with it also comes the admission that all we do know about mind are the impressions received by it of a material world. Thus is confirmed what Frederick Engels so ably recorded: we know a thing by its properties. The mind manifests itself by its peculiar property, conception. That conception is a materialist conception, and answers the test by results everywhere within our experience.

We are seriously told that "the scientist of to-day knows a million times more than the ordinary human." The same old talk; the same priestly gag on the common sense of the workers. We know; put your trust in us; have faith, was their cry and is still their cry. Yet with all their knowledge, with all their ability and intellect, they cannot make out an intelligible case to the "ordinary human." Whatever they know of ultimate origins, they trip and splutter like babies over their mother tongue. Their columns of trash are as worthless as polar expeditions. They assert and re-assert with provisos that are flat contradictions of their premises. Their own statements contain their own refutation. The "ordinary human," gifted merely with common sense, would never contradict himself in one breath so obviously as did Dr. Alfred Wallace when he said that "he and Sir William Crooks knew of the existence of phenomena which proved the existence of life without matter, as it were, certainly without ordinary matter." As if matter could be more or less matter because it was not ordinary matter!

The scientist's concern may be with molecules, atoms, or electrons. Ours is with the necessities of life. Theirs with the elements, the ultimate origins; ours with substance and social arrangements and relationships. Their wants are supplied, their position secure. The working class are merely receptacles more or less filled with energy, to be emptied into the mills of the capitalists, piling up wealth to be used by them in luxury, vice, charity, suppression, what they will; in a word, for everything that is degrading to humanity—the senile decay of an idle class and the perpetuation of the most abject form of slavery the world has ever known.

Genuine scientific discoveries clear up the mysteries of nature. Those who understand nature know best how to conform to her laws and make the most of life. The working class are kept in ignorance of the significance of scientific discoveries; numbed and bewildered by social forces they do not understand, they submit tamely to the yoke of capitalism. Though they are in the majority, and can snap their chains more easily and with less suffering than they experience by continuing their submission, they prefer the latter course.

Once the working class understand the real nature of capitalist society, they will realise how their lives are being wasted. Their united strength would become manifest to them, and the class that has to hire all its champions, from the policeman to the scientist, would shake with fear as revolution became, not "merely apparent," but inevitable.

F. F.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. W. HOLT (Nottingham).—We agree with Marx's "Discourse on Free Trade." Free Trade in England helped make it the "workshop of the world." But what it did for capitalists here Protection did for those abroad. Your statement that Free Trade "widens the breach between Capital and Labour" is false. It is not fiscal systems that cause the "breach," but the development of the productive forces, as Marx shows in "Capital."

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED.

"Weekly People" (New York).
"Gaelic American" (New York).
"British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
"Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
"Civil Service Socialist" (London).
"Freedom" (London).
"Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
"Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
"Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
"The Socialist" (Melbourne).
"The Call" (New York).
"The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
"International News Letter" (Berlin).

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"On the Evolution of Life from Fire." E. M. Darken. Wellington, New Zealand. 6d.

FIRST STEPS IN SOCIALISM.

WHO ARE THE WORKING CLASS?

Who are the working class? Many members of the working class, who dress after the fashion of their masters, and ape their manners, would repel with lively indignation and scorn, the suggestion that *they* belong to "the backbone of the country," the working class. They think that between these "hewers of wood and drawers of water" and the "upper ten" there exists a class whose fortunes and interest are with neither.

The idea is falacious. Manners may make the man, or nine tailors, working in harmony with might and main, may accomplish the same feat, but neither manners nor the tailors give a man his class status. Nor can the nature of the person's daily occupation draw the line of class distinction, though the fact of any occupation at all being followed goes far in the direction of placing the subject in the ranks of the despised and rejected.

Many imagine that the working class are those who perform what they are pleased to refer to as manual labour, as distinct from those they are even more pleased to call mental workers. But if this is so, where is the line to be drawn?

Who, think you, has exercised the greater mental activity—the booking clerk serving out tickets or the signalman passing the passenger safely on to his destination?—the office dignitary who works out the amount of the joiner's wages or the joiner involved in the intricacies of staircase and hand-railing?

As a matter of fact a little consideration will show us that it is impossible to draw the line anywhere, for the simple reason that there is no such thing as a distinction between manual labour and mental. The brain is the centre of all activities. Every muscle in the body, therefore, derives its power of movement from the brain. It follows, then, that every muscular activity must be mental as well.

On the other hand, there is no possible means at present known by which any mental activity can find outlet to the world save through the exercise of manual or muscular effort in some form or other. A thought cannot be written without the muscular effort of welding the pen, cannot even be spoken without the muscular exertion of moving the lips. So all mental labour that does not perish fruitless in the head wherein it is generated, must be manual as well as mental.

What is it, then, that divides the community into classes? What is that there is common between all those who constitute each class, yet is not common to the different classes? The answer to this last question, when we find it, may throw some light on the first.

If we take a survey of those about us, our fellow members of society, we find them a motley crew. Some are old, some are young; some fair to view, some we shouldn't care to be mistaken for; some are big and strong, some small and weak; some are good like ourselves, some are awful perishers. But none of these things can form the basis of a class division.

Shall we say that all the strong, or the good, form a class by themselves? Then class cannot go by families. There can be no working-class families or other-class families. For there are long and short, strong and weak, plain and comely, in every family; and though, of course, all crime is with the working class, not all the working class are criminals.

In the same way occupation does not supply the test, for the same families frequently supply the workers for both the office, the workshop, and the factory; the salaried black-coat and the waged cloth cap.

What, then, can it be, that divides and unites the people into classes?

There are two things and two things only we can discover that remain fairly constant in certain circles, seldom dividing individual families, though separating families into two great groups and keeping them apart. These are, the possession or non possession of wealth, and the necessity or otherwise of working for money or selling one's energy.

A moment's thought will reveal the fact that these things are intimately connected. People

possessing considerable wealth are not compelled to sell their strength and energy in order to live, while those who do not share in the ownership of wealth have no means of living except by means of the sale of their labour-power.

So there we have it. The working class are the propertyless, those, with their dependants, who must sell the strength of their mind and body for sustenance. What matter whether it is expended in mine or office? What matter whether it is paid for with salary or wages? All these trivialities vanish in the essentials that it provides. The propertyless have to work, to obey, to suffer unemployment, insecurity, and poverty. The propertied live idle and luxurious lives—and dominate.

The working class, then, are all those who have to sell their energy to live. A. E. J.

NOTHING OBJECTIONABLE!

The "Morand-Morrison" divorce case should give pause to more than one critic of Socialism. In this case a man and woman were, on the authority of Mr. Justice Deane, perfectly happily married. Along comes a rich man—a millionaire—with, of course, a rich man's appreciation of that sanctity of the home and the marriage tie which Socialists (we are told) are bent upon destroying. He takes a fancy to the woman, having won the novelty of his own wife, and being a very rich man, used to having his own way in everything, he soon removed all obstacles from his path.

Now the husband brings a case in court, not, of course, as a part of any pre-arranged scheme to provide Captain Morrison with a "free" woman.

What we desire to put on record, however, is the remarkable utterance of the judge in his direction to the jury, as indicating the position of the law when dealing with the buying and selling of women by rich men.

According to the "Daily Chronicle" of March 14, Mr. Priestley, K.C., "for the wife, in answer to Mr. Justice Deane, said it was a question of damages only, and the sum of £5,500 had been agreed upon subject to the approval of his lordship and the jury."

"Mr. Justice Deane" the "Chronicle" continues, "said there might be cases in which, when the parties lived a cat and dog life, it would be rather a blessing than otherwise that the parties should part. But there was nothing of that sort in this case. Petitioner and his wife were perfectly happy till this trouble began with Captain Morrison giving presents to the lady."

Having thus established the "glad, beautiful, and pure" English home in accordance with the accepted canons of orthodoxy, the judge proceeded to show how obliging and helpful the law is in matters of prostitution and the "White Slave" business when money elevates them from crime to virtue.

The parties themselves had agreed to the sum of £5,500, and they knew the facts better than anyone else. As far as they could see, there was nothing of an objectionable character behind petitioner and the other parties. Captain Morrison was a rich man, and he had practically bought this woman for £5,500."

On the judge's direction the jury found for the petitioner.

It is a great pity that this will not serve as a peg for the Suffragettes to hang their tale upon. It is a great pity that the power of wealth, which shows its ugly head so obtrusively, cannot be obscured, and that all too visible class line rubbed out. They might then be able to show that this is another instance of the line of cleavage between the sexes, and to prove therefrom that the extension of the franchise to propertied women would be the salvation of society. Alas! however, the facts of this case, at all events, are too glaring to be obliterated by their specific "dark brown fluid," or to be obscured by the "Votes for Women" label. It needs no discerning eye to observe that not only a woman, but a man also, has in this case been bought to serve the purpose of the idle rich. So it is as clear as claret that the buying and selling of women does not indicate a sex inequality, calling for the Suffragette, but a class dominance, calling for the Socialist.

J.

April, 1913.

April, 1913.

JOTTINGS.

WHAT an ungrateful world this is! Bearing in mind the fact that it is the workers who provide the capitalists with the wealth they bathe upon, one would almost suppose that the capitalists would, in a measure, be grateful for the service rendered to them, if only to the extent of giving them a decent wage in return. And so they would, no doubt, did they not know that the workers as a class are not yet wise to the game. As it is, knowing that they hold full possession of the power (again provided by the workers) whereby they can keep the workers in subjection, they are prepared to exercise it to any extent in order to maintain it. Not only do they grind their victims down to the uttermost limit of degradation, but they seek to make it appear that they are doing *them* (the workers) a service in allowing them to live at all!

We, as wealth producers, are expected to be grateful to *them* for the privilege of producing wealth, in order to hand it over to *them*!

And how particular they are, too! They will insist on having the best even in buying labour power. They are connoisseurs, too, in the art of picking and choosing. Whenever a job is to be given, members of our class are paraded and eyed up and down, just for all the world like a lot of prize cattle. Those of us who are lucky (!) enough to have a job lose our personality (if we ever had any) immediately we get it, and respond to a number or a section the same as

* * *

One of the latest devices for improving this system has just come to light. It is used for particularising applicants for employment at the Board of Trade Labour Exchange and is in connection with the working of Part 2 of the Insurance Act. This, by the way, is only one feature of the Insurance Act.

When a man presents himself to sign the unemployed register, it is said a clerk surveys him up and down and jots down by the side of his name a capital letter in accordance with a code they possess, the key to which is herewith furnished.

A.—Greyhaired. I.—Inclined bearing.
B.—Slightly deaf. J.—Slouchy gait.
C.—Very deaf. K.—Over garrulous.
D.—Tidily dressed. L.—Seedy appearance.
E.—Untidily dressed. M.—Unkempt appearance.
F.—Down at heel. N.—Smart appearance.
G.—Generally unfit. O.—Intelligent face.
H.—Fringe at bottom. P.—Trousers.

No sign of gratitude here to the wealth producers—rather one of shameless cunning and insult. No sign here of the repeated promise of the Liberal tricksters to end the misery of unemployment. No! When it comes to the process of still further weeding out the poor devils who have once before been weeded out, it is an indication that the struggle between the producers and the non-producers is reaching its most acute stage. Factors such as these sound an ominous note. There are rumblings in the air. A little longer and then—Mr. Capitalist, look out!

* * *

The "Labour Leader" is now mildly protesting against the too frequent appearance of Labour M.P.s on Liberal platforms. It has been quite the fashion, lately, "Everybody's doing it." It's all right once in a way, but don't over do it, you know! Gives the game away.

Mr. W. Johnson has been unusually busy. He supported the Liberals at Coventry on the occasion of a demonstration on January 24 and on March 1 he opened a Liberal club. On March 6 he attended the annual dinner of the Bolton Liberal Club, where he informed his pals that he had given the Government his loyal support. "I am not going to be dictated to as to where I shall go," he said, "and I would not refrain from being amongst you to-night." There is nothing like candour!

Both Mr. Crooks and Mr. Bowerman supported the "Progressive" candidates in various wards last month, despite the fact that candidates were running under the auspices of the B.S.P., and who had, in Bow and Bromley, the support of the Gasworkers' Union. Thus we find them in opposition to their own kind!

I don't know that Mr. Crooks is to be blamed altogether, for he has always displayed a cringing servility toward his "betters." Politically he is blind. As a platform orator he has a habit of putting his foot in his mouth every time he opens it, as, for instance, when he was seeing Mr. J. Ramsay McDonald off to India he admitted that "sometimes in looking up to heaven we stumble over the log that is at our feet and come a cropper because we don't see where we are going!"

Tom Sala.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

along with an invention that will do away with the necessity for eating it will not be in the least surprising. As it is we are getting on that way now. If report speaks truly it will shortly be possible for the worker to remain at his task for an indefinite period. A Doctor Horton, of the State Paupercity Hospital, Mass., has invented a substitute for sleep which permits the brain to work 24 hours a day!

The invention consists of a scientifically constructed chair in which one can rest while following his occupation (if a seated one), and in which all mental and bodily vigour is maintained.

A professor who has experimented on it over a number of years has never found it necessary to close his eyes!

Once get this going and the jig's up! However, it's an ill wind that blows good to nobody. Apply the invention to our industrial system and the eight hours question is solved right away. There won't be any!

* * *

Following upon the agitation some time ago for better conditions in the Postal Service, a Committee of Enquiry was appointed to enquire into and report upon the existing conditions of the various services in connection with the Post Office. Prominent among those who gave evidence was Sir Alexander King, the Secretary to the Post Office and Head of the Department.

Obviously his purpose was to gloss over the bad conditions, and also to rebut any evidence that might damage the Department.

Now, mark! Quite recently the Postmen's Federation held a social at Beckenham at which their Parliamentary Secretary and labour candidate, Mr. G. H. Stuart, presided. The honoured guest of the evening, who was received with loud applause, was Sir Alexander King!

* * *

In connection with the recent bye-election at Houghton, the Liberal Press a few days prior thereto pointed out the farcical position of a Liberal and a Labour candidate fighting in the same contest when both stood for the same thing. It certainly is very funny, though not surprising.

The Labour candidate (Ald. House) says: "The Labour Party agrees with every item in the programme of the Liberal Party." The "Manchester Guardian" (12.3.13) says: "Mr. House is taking his stand at this election on the same ground as the Liberal candidate," and goes on to complain that the Labour candidate is altering his political dress more and more to match the Liberal pattern!

Of course it must be aggravating when a chap comes along and queers the pitch. After all, though, haven't the Liberals the best of the game? Have they not two representatives to the Tories' one?

* * *

The "Labour Leader" is now mildly protesting against the too frequent appearance of Labour M.P.s on Liberal platforms. It has been quite the fashion, lately, "Everybody's doing it." It's all right once in a way, but don't over do it, you know! Gives the game away.

Mr. W. Johnson has been unusually busy. He supported the Liberals at Coventry on the occasion of a demonstration on January 24 and on March 1 he opened a Liberal club. On March 6 he attended the annual dinner of the Bolton Liberal Club, where he informed his pals that he had given the Government his loyal support.

"I am not going to be dictated to as to where I shall go," he said, "and I would not refrain from being amongst you to-night." There is nothing like candour!

Both Mr. Crooks and Mr. Bowerman supported the "Progressive" candidates in various wards last month, despite the fact that candidates were running under the auspices of the B.S.P., and who had, in Bow and Bromley, the support of the Gasworkers' Union. Thus we find them in opposition to their own kind!

I don't know that Mr. Crooks is to be blamed altogether, for he has always displayed a cringing servility toward his "betters." Politically he is blind. As a platform orator he has a habit of putting his foot in his mouth every time he opens it, as, for instance, when he was seeing Mr. J. Ramsay McDonald off to India he admitted that "sometimes in looking up to heaven we stumble over the log that is at our feet and come a cropper because we don't see where we are going!"

Tom Sala.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

59

QUESTION TIME.

A most amusing poster was exhibited at the Tooting branch of the B.S.P. recently, and from the Socialist point of view a most comprehensive one, too.

A meeting was advertised for March 9th at which Mr. E. Crump was to give a lecture, and the subject was to be: "Where Are We?"

Had the speaker shown the same sincerity in keeping his engagement as he did in choosing his subject the position would even then have been humorous, but his failure to turn up placed a touch of reality on the whole affair.

After an existence of twenty-seven years, smelling as sweetly under a variety of names, the B.S.P. find it necessary to ask themselves where they are! When we remember that the same party on the occasion of the Borough Council election in 1912, opposed the Progressives in Battersea and supported them in Tooting, the above incident can only be taken as a true reflex of their "organisation."

It is interesting to note, also, that what is called a "Transition Programme" (whatever that may be) finds a place on the preliminary agenda for the B.S.P.'s Whitsuntide Conference. The following extracts reveal the terrifying and revolutionary nature of the discussion that is to take place:—

"The Abolition of the Monarchy." "Free Administration of Justice and Legal Advice." "Compensation for Persons Innocently Accused and Imprisoned." "Abolition of Indirect Taxation," etc., etc.

Now at last we can feel that capitalism is tottering to its grave. Surely nothing but the fear of the

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday of each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free 1s. 6d.
Six " " " " " " 9d.

The Socialist Standard,



TUESDAY, APR. 1, 1913.

DAVID LLOYD GEORGE AND "DASTARDLY" CONDUCT.

EVERY age has its representative types, and the type of our time is that sinister figure in politics known as the Right Hon. David Lloyd George, the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

He perfectly reflects the cant and hypocrisy of the psalm singing swine who own and control the means of life in this auspicious and happy era.

He comes into the glare of present publicity by his dealings in "Marconi." Part of the story has been told before the capitalist committee now sitting, but a short survey of the affair will be useful.

Sir Rufus Daniel Isaacs, K.C., the Attorney-General, has a brother, Godfrey Isaacs, who is Managing Director of the Marconi Company. Having made himself responsible for selling 100,000 shares in the company, Godfrey offered Rufus 10,000 shares at £2 each, which the latter bought. Thereby Godfrey Isaacs netted about £9,000 profit, but as Rufus had plenty of money he did not mind this.

Sir Rufus then approached Mr. David Lloyd George, telling him it was "a very good investment," and that "these shares would undoubtedly rise in value." The "poor but honest" Chancellor, of course, could not resist the bait of "ninepence for fourpence"—not the mythical ninepence he promised workers under the Insurance Act, but a real, live "ninepence."

On April 17th, therefore, Mr. Lloyd George "bought" 1,000 shares at £2 each from Sir Rufus, although the issue of these shares was not authorised by the company until the 18th (Attorney-General's evidence, March 25th, 1913). He did not pay for the shares, but within two days he sold 357 of them, and by the third day 500 more. Therefore he sold all but 143 of them and in three days netted a profit of £743!

Unearned increment! How the words used to trip from the lips of the "Welsh Tribune" at Limehouse and elsewhere in his campaigns up and down the country! Listen to his denunciation of the wicked, idle landlord:

"He doesn't even take the trouble to receive his wealth. He has a host of agents and clerks to receive it for him. He does not even take the trouble to spend his wealth. He has a host of people around him to spend it for him. He never sees it until he comes to enjoy it. His sole function is stately consumption of wealth produced by others." (Limehouse, 30.7.09.)

What difference is there between the idler drawing a rent-roll from land he doesn't make or till and Lloyd George? The latter buys through a broker or a friend shares in a concern 3,000 miles away. He doesn't operate the plant, in fact he hasn't seen it. His chief point is that the company is in far-away America. "He is not concerned with the work or how it is done"—or paid for. His chief concern was expressed by him in his evidence before the Marconi Committee in the statement: "I wanted to know whether it was likely to turn out an investment

that would give a fair dividend" (31.3.13). And again on March 23rd of the current year, when he confessed that "I thought it would be a thoroughly good investment."

Men from East to West, from San Francisco to St. Louis, will toil, building stations, operating instruments, sending messages; men will be sweated and risk their lives as operators in ocean liners, and all the time David Lloyd George will wait at Downing Street to see the "divi," come rolling in. He can't always wait for "divi," and so he gambles on "Change"—but please don't call it gambling: it is simply investment!

On both grounds he is condemned as a canting hypocrite. He spends his time denouncing unearned increment when it takes the form of the plunder collared by the absentee landlord, but never a word against the swag filched by the absent shareholder. While he is rousing the workers against the parasite landlord, the equally parasitic industrial capitalist is left in peace to continue his sweating system.

Lloyd George has, indeed, done good work—for the factory owners.

When he sat in "opposition," he bitterly denounced monopoly. The American ones came in for his special condemnation. Yet the wily Welshman readily invests his money in one of the latest American monopolist concerns, and one that has already started fighting its competitors in the courts and buying out the most dangerous, just as Pierpont Morgan fought Carnegie in the Steel Trust.

Lloyd George lives in a nice house in Downing Street, full of the comforts associated with a capitalist Minister's lot. He has another house at Criccieth in Wales, and, still not satisfied, he looks around for further quarters, and negotiates for yet another house, at Walton Heath, in Surrey, where golf links and other luxuries of an expensive kind can be revelled in. But with tears in his voice he pleads before the Committee, "Cannot a man fifty years of age have one house to call his own?"

A man of fifty! Pity the working man who reaches that age! What bitter disappointment awaits the toiler who looks forward to having a house to call his own worth £2,000 (like Lloyd George's) when he reaches fifty!

What does Lloyd George care about the aged worker? Should a toiler be so unfortunate as to reach fifty, then, under David's Insurance swindle, he suffers to the extent of 3s. each week for his misfortune in living so long!

A little insight into George's past will show how callous he is to the lot of the workers in the December of their days.

During the life of the last Tory Government a Commission was appointed to investigate the cost of Old Age Pensions. Lloyd George was chosen from the "Opposition" to sit upon it.

What did he say? Listen to his confession made at Newcastle, April 14th, 1903, and quoted in his own book, "Better Times" (p. 6).

"I sat as a member of an old age pensions Committee—appointed by a Unionist Government.

In the evidence we

heard we found a greater difficulty than giving old age pensions. We found amongst the workmen, especially in the unskilled trades, that men

rarely even approached the confines of old age.

They are exhausted by the way, still in the prime of life. When we came to fix our pensions at sixty-five we found that large masses of the workmen would never live to benefit by it."

Seven years after that startling confession Lloyd George became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he brought in an Old Age Pensions Bill. No longer on the Opposition side, but occupying now a seat in the Government, he was faced with his own statement that it was no good giving pensions to men at sixty-five because most men are crushed out whilst still in the prime of life. So this oily-tongued time-server brought in a Bill fixing the age for pensions, not at sixty-five—that was too high—but at seventy, as there would be more dead by that time, and less money to pay out!

In spite of this fine example of the mean and contemptible actions of this lawyer advance agent of his party, workingmen still follow at his call.

The man who, at the desire of the exploiters, framed an Insurance Bill which, in his own words, "is framed in a way to completely pro-

tect them" (the employers); the man who, in the interest of the wealthy ship-owners, raised the load-line for cargo and thereby sends seamen to their death; the man who, for his actions during the "All Grades" railwaymen's dispute earned the praise of the employers—this man is he who complains of "dastardly" conduct against him! Who has really been guilty of "dastardly" conduct? With the hollow and, mocking results of nearly seven years power before them it should be no difficult task, in spite of Lloyd George's oily tongue and Stock Exchange cunning, for the smitten and spattered working class to decide. Will they? We shall see.

PARTY NOTES.

The Ninth Annual Conference of the Party was held at the Fairfax Halls, Harringay, London, N. on Friday and Saturday, the 21st and 22nd March. A good muster of delegates and a large attendance of Party members took great interest in the proceedings. The report of the Executive Committee on the work of the previous year was unanimously adopted. This report dealt with the increasing activities of the Party, and showed the necessity for more propagandists to cope with the ever-growing demand for our gospel.

Our official organ, the SOCIALIST STANDARD, was shown to have weathered the storm, to have attained a steady circulation, and to have been put at last on the satisfactory basis of "paying its way." Thus persistent effort in this important direction has been rewarded with complete victory.

The Party was shown to be both numerically and financially stronger than ever in its history, while it goes without saying that the propaganda of the year has been carried on in the same uncompromising spirit as heretofore.

We go on refreshed, and with renewed enthusiasm, after a most successful Conference, determined that at our next we shall have even greater progress to report and greater successes to congratulate ourselves upon.

* * *

In connection with the Conference, and in accordance with our usual custom, a reunion of Members and Friends was held on Good Friday evening. A most enjoyable time for all concerned resulted in the securing of some £10 to assist in the good work.

* * *

With the advent of spring and, let us hope, better weather, propaganda meetings must be organised everywhere and all the time. The Lecture List (back page) must be extended all along the line. Our missionaries must be sent into the Provinces far and near to carry our message to the unenlightened of our class, and every member of our Party must be got to realise that

SOCIALISM MEANS WORK FOR ALL.

* * *

Socialists in the Tower Hamlets Division desirous of becoming members of the S.P.G.B. should communicate with A. Jacobs, 78, Eric Street, Mile End, E., with a view to organising a branch in the district.

HIGH WYCOMBE (Bucks). Propaganda meetings will be resumed here at the Fountain on April 12th and 13th, and will be continued every alternate week-end during the summer. Local Socialists willing to assist should communicate with R. W. Gardner, 23, Abercrombie Avenue, High Wycombe, who is arranging the formation of a branch.

* * *

Party members, and particularly propagandists, who expect to have any holidays during the year, should not fail to communicate with our Organiser at the Head Office before deciding where to spend them. He is the chap who finds work for idle hands to do.

O.

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

April, 1913.

April, 1913.

SUGAR-COATED.

There is "A Magazine for the Home" called "The Helpful Friend." The local Baptist bible-banger or one of his emissaries comes "like a thief in the night" and thrusts a copy, month by month, in my letter-box. I do not know whether he regards this as inserting "the thin end of the wedge," or as "doing good by stealth," though I look to settle this point, among others, when I catch him at it.

But if "The Helpful Friend" is not a friend, it is sometimes helpful, for even the cat would laugh if it was given to reading its pages.

In the current issue the Rev. F. B. Meyer, keeper of the "Nonconformist Conscience" and the man who stopped the prize fight, writing under the title "Everyday Miracles," says: "To turn water into wine is to enable what is common and ordinary."

Now this is very frank. The Church, as a rule, is rather loth to publicly recognise the *locus standi* of "booze," whatever opinion it may hold in private. But the truth is out at last, and we know that water is common, ordinary, and plebeian (like the present scribe), while wine is noble and aristocratic (like you, fair reader).

Omar Khayyam and the parson reconciled at last!

* * *

This leads us to the thought that we live in a wonderfully democratic age. Only a few days ago King George V. of glorious memory (when he's dead, of course) whose blood is the bluest of the blue (though I hope it will never make itself obtrusively manifest in the Royal countenance) went all the way to Chingford to open a "common and ordinary" reservoir.

If one might think the Royal thoughts they were probably "how fine it would be if Jesus were here now, so that once again it might happen that (as the Rev. F. B. Meyer puts it) 'The modest water saw her God and blushed.'" After all, it is one of the saddest reflections to think that so much water remained "common and ordinary" for want of a presence next higher in rank than His Majesty, and no doubt the King, who is not altogether the backbone of the temperance movement, would see it in this light.

But what I intended to remark was, if the King would take so much trouble over "common, ordinary" water, to what lengths of condescension, self-sacrifice, and democracy would he go for that noble liquid whose modesty is so intense as not only to cause her to blush, but to cause her king to blush also!

* * *

But the Rev. F. B. M. explains the ancient miracle in a way that looks to me suspiciously like robbing his Saviour, and if it wasn't for my rooted objection to advertising a person who would do such a thing I would charge him with it—I would, really. I have always been taught that Jesus turned the water into wine, and now this clerical ragamuffin comes along and says he didn't: the water blushed! For shame! For the proverb sayeth: "All is not wine that blushes."

* * *

In the same article the reverend gent remarks with evident feeling: "How many innocent" (that means cheap) "joys there are in all lives, however sad and dark!" (That means out of work.) "The morning flush" (that's washing the streets down in the night) "the evening glow," (the night shift in the foundry know what this means) "the tender green"

(That's the tender that takes ashore
The emigrant's mother he'll see no more.)

"and laughing flowers of spring," (I don't believe they do it.) "the many sounds of nature from the roll of the breaker" (that, evidently, is the machine that breaks up the roads and saves the man with the pickaxe the trouble—a very innocent joy, that,) "and hums of insect life" (kill that fly); "the unexpected gleams of sunshine" (that's when the office windows are cleaned) "which now from this side and now from that" (It's a very dodgey sort of sun, you know, that performs this "everyday miracle") "send a thrill through the heart" (That's shock!) "and a light over the countenance." (That's what causes it: it's so rare and unexpected.)

* * *

Now it will be noticed that the parson's share of the above is divine truth (suitably hidden, of course, as divine truth always is, from the gaze of the vulgar), while my share is revelation. The two together are division of labour, and as such they are economically sound. (I had it in mind to say that they are sound in another way, mine being sound and the Holy Joe's noise, but let that pass.) Beyond this I have only to say that they are a jolly cheap lot (in which respect they may be likened unto water), and that if the worker can only be brought to realise that (as the Rev. F. B. M. puts it) "he takes them all straight from the hand of Christ," then the conclusion of the Rev. gent, that "it is this fact which turns the water into wine" will be established on impregnable rock, and another "everyday miracle" will be achieved.

Which, of course, is why our dear brother in God wrote his message, and why the inspired word was put into my letter-box, and why I have donned the mantle of the prophet and revealed divine truth, which else had lain hidden like the germ in the german sausage.

* * *

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

of nature. But they take darned good care that nobody cuts their cord.

On the occasion of the historic visit of the King to Chingford to secure the water supply of the teeming millions of HIS people, he passed through West Ham, which is particularly and peculiarly a district of those "glad, beautiful, and pure" (I am quoting the Rev. F. B. Meyer again) "English homes," which are "under God the secret of our national greatness." For the most "glad, beautiful, and pure" portion of this salubrious oasis (the portion commonly known as dockland) that stern old revolutionary warrior, Mr. William Thorne, happens by the Grace of God and the blindness of the people, to be the "sitting Member." Hence Mr. Thorne, when the following chin-wag didn't take place:

HIGH PERSONAGE (with a bow and a scrape): This, Y' Majesty, is Mr. Willyum Thorne, M.P. for the Southern portion of the borough.

Mr. Thorne is called Bill by his friends, but desires to support the dignity of the borough under the name of Willyum.

MAJESTY: Do, Mr. Thorne?

THORNE: How does your Majesty find yourself and how's your mother and the missus and all the youngsters?

MAJESTY: So-so, considering how hard they work. (Prolonged pause.) Say, Thorne, I was thinking.

THORNE: G'on, no larks.

MAJESTY: Honour bright, I was thinking that your friends call you Bill.

Thorne: I can't get 'em to realise who I am, but perhaps after this—(sentence finished in eloquent silence.)

MAJESTY: Well, we are not exactly enemies, are we?

THORNE: Far from it, or I shouldn't be here.

MAJESTY: Well, I was thinking of a compromise.

THORNE (with quickening interest): Ah! I do, very often.

MAJESTY (extending his hand): Then let it be Billian.

THORNE (dissembling, but nevertheless visibly chapfallen): Honoured, I'm sure, and (a glance at a corner establishment near the Town Hall, where a white swan was undergoing agonies of loyal fervour and manifesting the same through a roaring trade at the bar) if it wasn't for the Free Churches, which means votes, riper acquaintance might lead to something better.

MAJESTY (following Thorne's eye and, after a full glance at his gracious lady, whereupon he sighed sadly and subsided into a slough of despond): To tell the truth, Billian, I was thinking of something better—a knight-hood or something of that. We've brought the sword along.

THORNE: I once came near being made a J.P., but some of my boys said they weren't going to pay me to send 'em to prison. My word, they didn't half ruck! Some of 'em job at this (indicating his aldermanic rotundity). They say it represents the Free Churches and others better than it represents labour. They forgot its labour for me to carry it about. So before I commit myself I should like to know whether there is any chink attached.

MAJESTY: I don't think there can be, or the sword wouldn't have been used so much by one

ECONOMICS IN BRIEF.

The science which treats of the production and distribution of wealth is termed political economy, and has been described as the "dismal science"—which name the contradictions and confusion of the orthodox economists render not inapplicable. To study these economists is like studying astronomy without a knowledge of gravity. But just as astronomy was brought out of chaos by that discovery which enabled us to understand the movements of the heavenly bodies, so about fifty years ago political economy was placed on a firm foundation by Karl Marx, the founder of scientific Socialism.

In his work "Capital" Marx brought to light certain facts which the orthodox economists could not accept without admitting truths which quite upset their teachings. And the dissemination by the university professors of the Marxian teaching that the capitalists live upon the exploitation of the workers would surely have resulted in their removal from their posts, just as Prof. Thorold Rogers was deprived of an office "for tracing certain social mischiefs to their origin."

Many of the older economists made no fundamental distinction between modern production and that of former epochs. But to Marx the production of wealth under capitalist society differs from all previous production in that the wealth under former systems was produced primarily or solely for use, while under modern conditions it is produced for the purpose of exchange.

But this is not all, for no one to-day enters into the production of commodities as goods created for exchange are termed, simply for the purpose of exchanging them for other commodities. And to understand the motive for which industry is carried on we must for a moment glance at the modern manufacturer and see *why* he is a manufacturer.

He starts out with a certain sum of money with which he purchases his plant, raw material, and other things essential to his particular line of business, and the finished commodities are exchanged for money. But if the object aimed at is achieved, then not only the original sum of money is returned, but an excess also. It matters not what class of goods is produced, how many or what quality, unless this surplus appears at the close of the cycle, the manufacturer is said to have failed.

The question then arises, how does this excess of wealth come about? It is obvious that it does not arise in the process of exchange, for what one capitalist would gain another would lose. We must therefore look elsewhere for this source of profit.

The wealth used in modern society for the purpose of obtaining profit we call capital, and its owners capitalists. When the commodities of the industrial capitalist are produced they are placed upon the market for exchange, and the amount of other commodities he will receive for them does not depend upon his "will," but upon conditions beyond his control. Once on the market his goods come face to face with other commodities of similar nature, and if our capitalist asks for his articles more than the average usually given, he will not sell them. Therefore he has to accept the average that society will give.

Should, however, the market become overstocked, as it does periodically owing to the anarchical nature of present-day production, then each capitalist, in order to dispose of his particular commodity, will accept less than usual, while if, on the other hand, there is a greater demand for those articles they will ask and obtain more than the average.

Now these fluctuations take place round a certain point, but if a modification in the process of production takes place, then that point shifts. For instance, according to Babbage ("Economy of Manufacture") the price of a sheet of plate glass 50" x 30" was in 1771 £24 2s. 4d., and in 1832 £6 12s. 10d., while small sheets (for reason to be explained later) rose in price. The fall in price was due to the adoption of improved methods in producing large sheets which reduced the time necessary to accomplish the operation.

We see, then, that the reduction in the time necessary for the production of a commodity results in a fall in its value, therefore what determines the value of a commodity is the time

needed to produce it—not the time taken by the individual, but the average time taken to produce that particular line of commodities.

Commodities taking on the average the same time to produce will be equal in exchange, e.g., if A takes on the average 10 hours to produce and B also takes 10 hours, then they will both possess the same exchange value—one will exchange for the other. But if the time necessary for the production of B falls to 5 hours, then A will exchange for 2 Bs.

The direct exchange of one commodity for another without the intervention of any intermediary is a very primitive form of exchange and is known as barter. In primitive communities, where exchange takes place on a very small scale, where articles are produced primarily for use, and only the surplus is exchanged, barter is the common practice, but later an intermediary comes between the goods exchanged. This we term the medium of exchange, and many things have been used at different times for this purpose, such as salt, cattle, shells, copper, silver and gold. But this medium is not a thing outside the world of commodities. It is in itself a commodity whose value is known to society, and which will be accepted by all those desiring an exchange.

In modern society gold is used as the medium of exchange, having been selected as being convenient, portable, fairly constant in value, and as containing great value in small bulk. When we say that a certain commodity is worth £1 we do but express the fact that the same quantity of human labour measured by time has been expended on the average in the production of each, and we say that the £1 is the *price* of this commodity.

But let us look a little farther. We will say that a gun is equal in value to £1, that is to say that they each represent the same amount of human labour time. If the time necessary for the production of the gun falls by half, it is obvious that on our theory it will be worth only 10s. But now let us assume that no alteration takes place in the value of the gun, while the time necessary to produce the £1 falls by half, £2 would now be required to equal the value of the gun. Although no alteration has taken place in the value of the gun, its *price* has risen through a fall in the value of gold.

A fall in prices is generally looked for on the introduction of quicker methods of producing a commodity, but our second case seems to be in comprehensible to most people, and all sorts of theories are put forward to explain a general rise in prices.

It was the fall in the value of the medium of exchange that explains the increased price of the small sheets of glass referred to above, and the fact that the price of the larger sheets fell informs us that the fall in their value was greater than the fall in the value of the coin.

So far we have presumed that the owner of the commodities was their producer. Such an assumption might have sufficed in the handicraft system, where the producer owned the tools he used and the goods he produced. But under capitalist production the basis of our analysis is incomplete. We must therefore follow our capitalist into business again.

We said he starts out with a certain sum of money which we call his capital, with which he purchases his plant and raw material. This is termed constant capital, because its value does not alter during the process of production. It is true the plant deteriorates in value, as does also the quantity of the raw material, as production proceeds, but its value is not lost, but transferred to the finished commodities.

Obviously the constant capital cannot create even the smallest amount of value, for no matter how long it was left it would remain inoperative, and there would be no increase in value until another factor was introduced.

The manufacturer, therefore, has to have more capital with which to obtain this other factor in order to set this machinery in operation, and as the modern methods of production are far too vast for the owner to operate them by himself, even if he desired to do so, he has to seek the aid of others.

The capitalist purchases, not the worker, but his energies, his power to labour, and what the worker receives in return for this labour power we call wages.

Now there is a constant struggle going on

amongst the workers for the jobs, which prevents wages rising, on the average, above a certain point. The large army of unemployed, the necessary adjunct of capitalist society, in their eagerness to obtain work, are prepared to accept a wage just sufficient to cover their cost of subsistence. The result is that those who are in employment have to accept the same or give way to those who will. Thus competition keeps wages on the average, at the subsistence level. In other words, wages are governed by the cost of living.

The capitalist, then, has to purchase the requisite labour-power to operate his tools of production. And when this labour-power is expended in the production of useful articles a further value is created.

Now the value the workers create does not depend upon the wages they receive, which, we have seen, is determined by the cost of living. Hence it does not matter how much value they create, their wages remain the same. And it is obvious that if they do not create a value at least equal to that they receive in wages the manufacturer's capital would soon become exhausted. But if this was all that could be obtained there would be no inducement for the capitalist to enter into business at all. The workers must, therefore, produce a value greater than their wages in order to ensure their continued employment.

This "surplus value," as the excess of value over and above their wages created by the workers is called, increases with the increase in the productivity of labour. The more the workers produce the more goes into the pocket of the capitalist. And as the wages of the former are determined before ever they commence work, they will be unaffected by any alteration in the amount of value they create.

The appropriation of the surplus value by the capitalist is his sole motive for entering into production. But he is not able to retain the whole of this surplus value for himself: he has to make certain payments in the form of rent and interest.

We have said that the values of commodities are determined by the average amount of human labour time necessary to produce them. Equal quantities of labour time will, on the average, produce equal values. We have said further that the constant portion of capital does not create surplus value, and therefore does not create surplus value.

Now the production of some commodities necessitates the use of a larger proportion of constant capital in proportion to the amount of labour employed. If all commodities were sold at their value it would mean that those capitals containing a larger percentage of constant capital would obtain less surplus value than those containing a smaller percentage.

For example, a certain capital, say £1,500, is composed of constant capital £1,000 and variable capital (that portion used for the payment of wages) £500, and the labour employed creates a value of £1,000. The total value of the product will be composed of constant capital £1,000 plus £1,000 created by the workers, making a total value of £2,000. The cost in money to the capitalist of producing the commodities will have been £1,500, leaving a surplus value of £500, or, roughly, 33 per cent. on the outlay.

Now we will take another illustration. Another capitalist also commences business with £1,500, of which he spends only £500 in constant capital and £1,000 in the purchase of labour power.

Equal quantities of labour power produce equal values, hence the value of the product will be composed of £500 constant capital plus £2,000 created by the workers, making a total value of £2,500. The cost price to the capitalist will have been the same as in the previous illustration, viz., £1,500. The surplus in this instance will be at the rate of just over 66 per cent. on the outlay.

Now when analysing the capitalist mode of production we have always to remember that it presupposes competition in all its ramifications. And if all commodities were sold at their value, capital would be withdrawn from those spheres of production which necessitated a large percentage of constant capital and invested in those which needed a smaller percentage. The withdrawal of capital and the consequent reduction in the competition in one sphere would allow an increase in the prices of the commodities,

April, 1913.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

while in that sphere in which the influx of capital took place the increased competition would force down prices, thus causing an increase of profit in one sphere and a decrease in the other.

This competition is continually going on between the different capitals seeking investment, reducing the price of commodities in some spheres of production below their value and in other spheres raising the price above their value, at the same time and through this process bringing about an average rate of profit throughout society.

The fact that there is a tendency to the formation of an average rate of profit in society resulting in commodities being sold at prices varying from their value does not in the least alter the Marxian theory of value as explained in the first volume of "Capital." And although there is a deviation of price from the value of individual commodities, yet the total value of the commodities of society will equal the sum of their prices.

The point in political economy that is of paramount importance to the working class is the fact that they are robbed of the wealth they create over and above the cost of their subsistence. This robbery takes place because a certain class of people are allowed to own all the means for producing and distributing wealth—the land, mines, railways, factories, machinery, etc.

We of the Socialist Party, recognising this, are organising to wrest the means of life from the hands of these people and make them common property. When this is accomplished, then for the first time since the dawn of chattel slavery the exploitation of human labour power will cease. Each member of the community capable of assisting in the production and distribution of wealth will be expected to perform his share of the necessary labour, and the wealth that is created will be the common property of the whole people.

The system of society based upon such a property condition we call Socialism.

H. A. YOUNG.

THE BOOTLESS "BOOM."

"THOSE who wish to understand the phenomenon of working-class discontent should give their attention to the table of food prices just furnished by the Board of Trade. It covers the exact period of the present Government's official life, and is therefore a dramatic comment on the theory that the secret of Cheap Food lies in the maintenance of Free Trade. There is scarcely an article of diet in which these seven years have not recorded rising prices. Bread is higher by only 4 per cent. in the ordinary retail trade; but, as contract supplies show an increase of 9 per cent., and flour is up 13 per cent., it is impossible not to suspect that the figure is steadily by a reduction of quality. Beef has risen by 14 per cent.—counterbalanced, if one likes to think so, by a cheapening of 'second quality' and 'inferior' mutton. Sugar is slightly above the level of seven years ago, despite the reduction of the duty, and the great tendency of the markets is shown by an advance of 19 per cent. on potatoes, 16 per cent. on eggs, 14 per cent. on butter, 17 per cent. on milk, 21 per cent. on oatmeal, 22 per cent. on bacon, and 25 per cent. on cheese.

The daily press will still admit that the appalling poverty and misery are confined to the ranks of the working class, but they are far from disappointing our influential "leaders of Labour" by speaking of such things as antagonisms of interests existing between capitalists and wage workers. One might as well expect the Keir Hardies and Blatchfords themselves to insist on the necessity of understanding that the problem of poverty is essentially one of *class*, and can only be met by the organisation of the workers on the cardinal principle of the irreconcilable and uncompromising class war.

Thus, although the writer left the reader to draw his own conclusion, the "P.M.G." has long made it sufficiently clear that its only alternative to the ravages of Cobdenism is—

"Tariff Reform!" Presumably the poor scribe thought it desirable, for the holy sake of "expediency" (or for his own sake) to refrain, at this juncture, from mentioning the sacred battle-cry.

The essentials of the working-class position, indeed? Could it be expected that Mr. Garvin's paymasters would allow a statement of the real essentials? or the publication of the result of a scientific investigation? No. The nature of the essentials of the working-class position is such as to make their propounding utterly incomparable with the respectability of the "P.M.G." Their nostrums do not only not disturb the peace of the slaveholders, but actually lead a section of them to a better exploitation of, and a tighter grip over, their unfortunate victims. And Tariff Reform, the nostrum of the afore mentioned organ, would, of course, not make an exception in this.

We need only look to the Tariff enjoying

countries both on the Continent and in America, to get the lie direct to the rhetorical assurances of those capitalist hacks who claim that tariff walls are a safeguard for the prosperity of the workers. From time to time hostile clamours are heard going up in these countries against the dearness, and the still further rising of the prices, of the necessities of life, which unmistakably show that there is equally an inadequacy on the part of the workers of those lands "in their means of facing it."

Such outcries often reach these shores and find prominence in the Press. Who does not remember the reports of the recent upheavals in France and Belgium, the revolt of the housewives in the market-places, the chronic protests and popular demonstrations demanding the abolition of import duties on food-stuffs in Austria, Germany, Spain, etc., in the States as well as in South America?

The following, which appeared in the "Daily News and Leader" for Feb. 28, is typical of these constantly recurring news items:—

"PROTECTIONIST DUTIES TO BE REDUCED OR ABOLISHED."

"Rio De Janeiro, Feb. 26."

"The Government has decided to proceed with the revision and reduction of protectionist duties, and has authorised the Minister of Finance to reduce or, if need be, to abolish import duties on necessities of life. This step has been resolved upon by the Council of Ministers as the result of the popular outcries against the dearness of food.—REUTER."

Is it not also significant that the reduction of import duties formed one of the issues at the last Presidential election in the United States?

For all those workers who still are under the illusion that different fiscal systems can have any influence whatever on the economic position of the working class the present writer has a wish that their "walks of life" might lead them amongst the working population of foreign industrial centres, say, for instance, in Austria. He feels convinced that it would be an eye-opener to them, and that they would speedily find out that what the Welsh Apostle of Free Trade said a little while ago of Britain, namely, that "that condition of things was foreign to the barbarities even of the darker ages," is perfectly true of Protectionist countries. Unemployment is just as acute. A Budapest daily, the "Neues Pester Journal," for February 11th, which came into the hands of the present writer, dealt editorially with the problem of unemployment in that city. Here is word for word what it said:—

"To day there are in our capital more than 30,000 unemployed, who, with their families, are faced with the most pressing destitution, and are unable to find work. Thereby it must be taken into consideration that these workers, in consequence of the misery in which they find themselves, are willing to take on any work and are only too pleased to earn 60 or 80 Heller (6d. or 8d.) for ten and twelve hours labour. During the last few weeks the large timber merchants have had hundreds of applications from unemployed offering their services for 20 Heller (2d.) a day."

If we bear in mind that the total number of workers in Budapest is approximately 100,000, it will be clear what an appalling amount of human misery there must exist in this Protection enjoying country.

Instances showing the terrible plight of the workers all over the world, side by side with ever-improving means of wealth production and greater command over natural resources, could be multiplied, but space does not permit.

The truth is that the class interest of the owners of these means of wealth production stand in the way of their manipulation for the common benefit. It is the historic mission of the working class to organise in order to break down the barrier, but so long as they superstitiously believe in the "sacred rights of property" indicated by their masters, so long will they continue to be the unconscious dupes of the political bunglers.

F.

If it is going to be a long task overthrowing the present social system and instituting the Socialist Commonwealth, that is entirely due to the apathy and ignorance of the workers.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR APRIL.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	C. Elliot	J. Roe	C. Baggett
" Edmonton Green	7.30	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn	E. Lake
Finsbury Park	7.30	J. G. Stone	A. W. Pearson	A. Barker
Forest Gate (Station)	3.30	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	A. Timms
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30	A. Jacobs	T. W. Allen	T. W. Allen
Ilford (station)	7.30	A. Anderson	F. Vickers	A. Anson
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	A. Leslie	B. Young	A. Kohn
" Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30	C. Parker	J. Fitzgerald	J. Fitzgerald
Hackney, Ridley Rd., Dalston	11.30	A. Bayes	A. Leslie	A. Jacobs
Tooting Broadway	11.30	J. Fitzgerald	C. Gatter	C. Baggett
Tottenham, West Green Cntr.	11.30	A. Kohn	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns
"	7.30	A. Barker	S. Blake	A. Timms
Waltham Green Church	7.30	A. W. Pearson	C. Elliott	J. Lewington
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	7.30	T. W. Allen	C. Baggett	A. Anderson
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	F. Stearn	A. Anderson	A. Bayes
"	7.30	A. Timms	A. Hoskyns	J. Myles

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cntr. 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-nd., Earl'sfield, 8. Giesbach-nd., Highgate, N. Queen's-nd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.**FRIDAYS.**—Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 82, Britannia-nd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Saturdays at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-nd., Gravesend.

ILLFORD.—Communications to Secretary, 97 Thorold Road, Ilford. Particulars of Branch meetings from Secretary.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, 2nd and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carlton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portman-nd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., at 8 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-nd. Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Monday at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-nd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-nd., Newington Green. Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-nd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

TOOTING.—C. Elliott, Secy., 1 Denison-nd., Merton, S.W. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).

TOTENHAM.—F. Fyler, Secy., 3 Gloucester-nd., Branch meets Mondays at 8 at 224, High-nd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Secy., 48, Badis road, Branch meets Mondays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Secy., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

Printed by A. JACOBS, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.

April 1, 1913.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth and in the interest of the whole community

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

HOLDS

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master-class, and the consequent enslavement of the working-class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working-class from the domination of the master-class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working-class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working-class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working-class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist-class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working-class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master-class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged Labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working-class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.

OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT

7.30 p.m.

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth

3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. 5/6 post free.

SINGLE YEAR VOL. 3/- "

Price 6d. Post Free 7d

SOCIALISM v. THE LIBERAL PARTY.

A Debate.

Post Free 7d

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC.

By F. ENGELS.

Price 6d. Post Free 7d

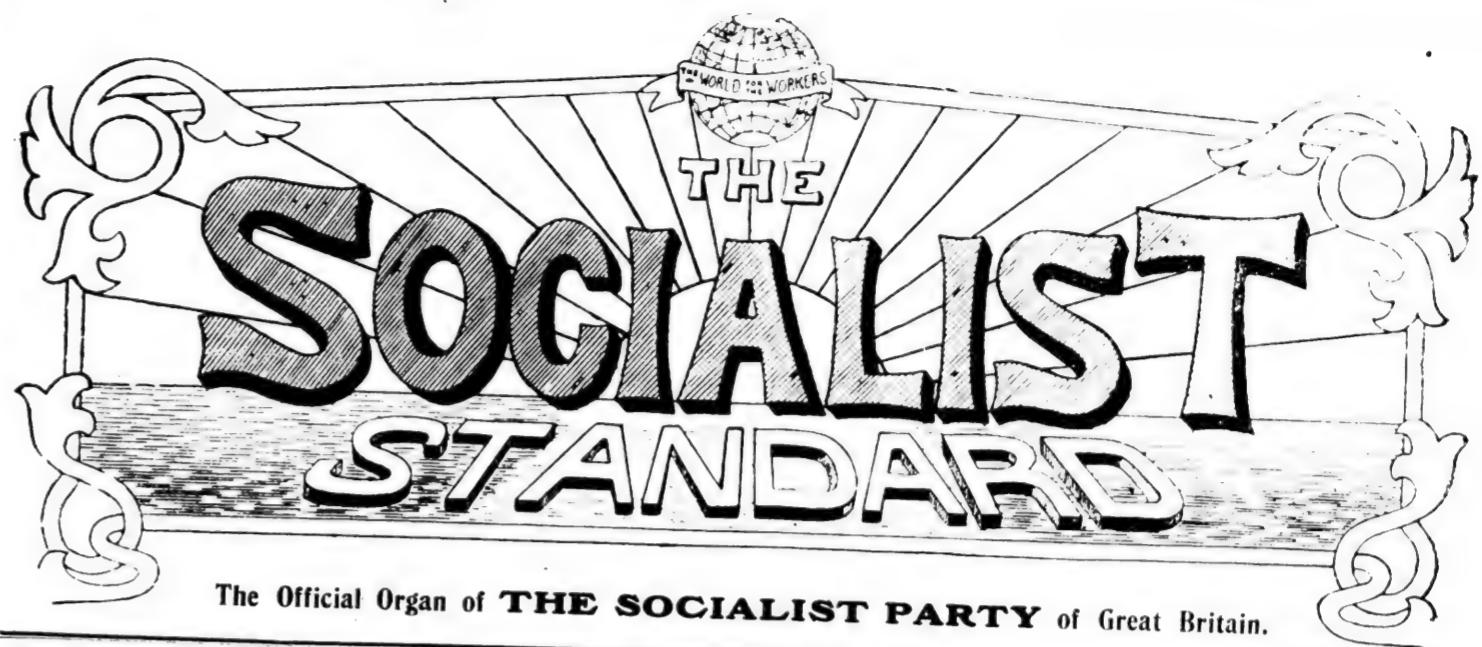
SOCIALISM & THE LIBERAL PARTY.

A Debate.

Post Free 7d

London School of Economics & Political Science 2007

Socialist Standard 1913



The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

No. 105. VOL. 9.]

LONDON, MAY 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

WHY WE ARE EDUCATED. OUR POSITION JUSTIFIED BY THE ENEMY.

We have often been asked if we are in favour of a higher system of education, and the raising of the age at which children may leave school. Our reply has invariably been that it is a fatuous policy to advocate any such measures while the workers are so impotent in the administration of affairs as they must be while their masters control the political machinery.

We have consistently pointed out that those who, like the British Socialist Party and the Independent Labour Party, continue to advocate the raising of the school age to 16 years, and the adoption of a higher standard of education, are utterly wasting their time and energy, and what is worse from the revolutionary point of view, are obscuring the real issue, i.e., the fight of the working class for the conquest of political power, in order to achieve their economic emancipation by the establishment of Socialism.

That our attitude toward this question has been justified is abundantly proved by the very significant statements of Lord Crewe and Lord Haldane at the Eighty Club on April 4th of the present year.

Speaking of the half-time system Lord Crewe said it "possesses a desperate ill-name in this country, but I do not think it can be disputed that there are certain cases, certain parts of the country and certain types of individual life in which what is even more important than the maintenance of full-time elementary education is the definite continuance of education to an age considerably greater than the law makes compulsory."

The half time system "possesses a desperate ill-name in this country," and there the matter ends as far as our nonchalant Government is concerned. No statement is made as to its elimination, or even foreshadowing the reduction of the number of half-timers. All we get is a hint, not so much that the age at which full-time children will be allowed to leave school is likely to be raised "in certain parts of the country," as that the Bournville policy of compelling children to attend evening schools when starting work is to be adopted.

But why the ominous qualification, "some parts of the country"? Is it because the children of the working class in some districts are not deserving of a higher education? or because of an insufficiency of brain power to enable them to retain the knowledge imparted to them by the teacher? Or is it—but let Lord Haldane reply.

He said upon the same occasion: "It is not that we are not making progress, but that the new organisation of society, of finance and industry, is pressing us into competition with other nations, such as we have never had to face before."

This is the key to the whole situation. The capitalist class do not provide education "at

great expense" for the children of the workers simply because they wish them to become more intelligent, but for the sole reason that the increasing development of commercialism, of finance, and of industry in general necessitates an ever-increasing army of comparatively highly educated wage workers, whose education has to increase and keep pace with the advancing knowledge of the working class in other countries, in order that the capitalist class in this country may effectually compete with their foreign competitors for the markets of the world. This explains completely why the children of the workers are to be blessed with a higher education in "some parts of the country" than in others. In London and the other commercial and financial centres the age at which children may leave school must be raised, or some other method of attaining a higher educational standard be adopted, while in other parts, presumably the mining and cotton manufacturing districts (and possibly in agricultural districts also), where the bulk of industry requires a comparatively slight education, the half time system can continue.

"But the real secret of success," continued the Lord Chancellor, "lies not with the owners of capital." (Of course not.) Therefore "we must raise the general educational level of the whole country."

"In these days of science, of the organisation of capital and the competition among all nations for the first place, how are we to keep this position? By science, by organisation, by training people in science and organisation."

The working class, then, are to be trained in science and the organisation of capital (which the working class never own) so as to enable them to retain the supremacy of British commerce in the interest of the capitalist class of this country.

The "higher elementary" stage is to-day voluntary, and comparatively few of the children pass through this, as the poverty of the parents compels them to withdraw their youngsters from school as soon as they reach the age of 14 and send them out as "industrial machines" in order to augment the meagre income of the family.

At the same meeting Lord Crewe declared that "unless we have the nation at our backs we cannot make headway." The "Daily News and Leader" administers a rebuke to Lord Haldane for trying to win "national sympathy" for education by telling "the nation that education is good business; that it will help us in the world's competition markets." The "Daily News and Leader" has a different way from that of telling the truth, and in orthodox Nonconformist style says, "education should be conceived as part of the machinery of equal opportunity, the purpose of which is to enable men to rise out of one social class into another."

Lord Haldane, however, knew that such pitiful drivell would have no effect upon the members of the Eighty Club, composed, as it is, of the shining lights of the master class—many of them millionaires. When the plunderers are addressing their own class "truth must out," but to obtain the support of the working class, who have the power as soon as they have the intelligence, to remove their masters from the political offices they hold, then the purpose of education is to enable the workers to lift themselves into the class above them, in other words to become capitalists!

A most beautiful dream, this, but one that develops into a nightmare as the facts become clearer.

The children who pass through the "higher elementary" schools are to day sometimes able to command a better wage than their more unfortunate schoolmates, who, through the poverty of their parents, have to leave school two or three years earlier. But the increased competition for the situations that necessitate a better education that will assuredly follow from the adoption of the system of compulsory higher education will have the effect of reducing wages in these professions, and so enable the capitalist to obtain even greater profit at the expense of the workers.

The capitalists do not pay for education for the benefit of the worker's children, and nothing would please them better, or be more to their advantage, than to be able to carry on their business with an ignorant working class. For this same education enables the Socialists to disseminate their views in literature amongst the working class, a method of propaganda that would have been impossible had not the advent of capitalism brought with it the necessity for an educated working class. In this respect, as in many others, the "capitalist class produce their own grave-diggers."

And now our masters have also become suddenly enamoured with the idea of improving the physical conditions of the children. But the same material interests dominate their actions in this direction as it does in all others.

"What a bad bargain we are making," cried Lord Crewe, "in allowing children not properly furnished physically to attend schools which are set up at great expense to the country" (read capitalist class). "Such children are not being trained into useful citizens and *useful industrial machines* and you are educating it great expense a child which in a very short time will become entitled to the medical and sanitorium benefit of the insurance scheme."

And there you have it. The worker's children are now to receive physical training, which has hitherto been almost entirely ignored, not that they may enjoy a better physique and better health in after life, but that the physical train

ing they will receive when young will have the effect of producing better and more profitable "industrial machines," and be the means of keeping them off the State Insurance funds.

We know that whatever "education" the workers' children receive in future will be the same as they have received in the past just that amount that is necessary for the capitalist class to carry on their business for profit.

The real education of the working class, the knowledge that will raise them from their degrading class position, will be taught only by the Socialist Party.

H. A. YOUNG.

THE NEED FOR REVOLUTION.

We have been accused of exaggeration, and are told that we want a revolution to overthrow a molehill. We are damned by the faint praise of those who admit the justice of our demands, yet who, advocating the amelioration of the evils we expose, endeavour to show how such evils can be remedied much more easily than by the proposed removal of a social system.

We are told that Socialism has been tried and has failed, not once, but many times, and that the attempt to establish a Socialist regime in this country would result in disaster and chaos.

"Capitalism is bad, admittedly, but what evidence have we that Socialism will not be worse?" "Let us avoid revolution." "Do not throw away the old garment before we obtain the new." These are the cries that affect the timid; but what is Socialism and what is the problem that it proposes to solve?

Admittedly we stand for a reorganisation of Society; for a system opposed to and differing entirely from the present. Its establishment means the overthrow of the present system and it cannot be realized (to say nothing of failure) until the present social order has ceased to be.

Let us, then, leave the absurd notions of past failures of Socialism to such puny minds as find their place in the Anti-Socialist Union scribes and speakers and those of equal calibre outside or inside Bedlam.

The only real and necessary function of a social system should be to provide the necessities of life and add to the happiness of the community. The objective should be to satisfy the material wants of the people who make up that society. Does the capitalist system fulfil this function? Are the social units under that system well provided for? and if they are not why is it?

We claim that the units of society are not well provided for. We are not alone when we say that want—material want—is a feature of capitalism. Poverty is inevitable, say our statesmen. "The poor we have always with us," chants the parson. Unemployment, with its concomitant evils, is a permanency. The material wants of the mass of society are not satisfied. Responsible statesmen have admitted for years past that poverty grows greater, and that faster than one social sore is healed others break out. (Lloyd George, for instance.)

In England, we are told, the average family consists of five persons. The amount of wealth produced in this country is sufficient to provide each family of five with wealth equivalent to the sum of £225 per annum. (Chiozza Money.) The present cost of living would enable each family to live in comfort on such a sum. Yet the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said that "30 per cent. of our population are underfed, on the verge of hunger." The "Daily Chronicle," of Feb. 12, 1913 stated that: "Millions are without a living wage. Two millions and a half adult males in this country do not obtain 25s. a week; nearly a million are not receiving 20s. a week, and some 300,000 do not carry away 15s. a week even when they are in full employment."

Dr. Clifford said at the Free Church Congress at Newcastle on March 12 last: "Official returns issued yesterday (March 11) show that on July 1st last year the total number of paupers was 773,603, an increase of 14,828."

The present social system, then, does enable the people to produce sufficient to satisfy their needs, yet condemns millions of them to perpetual hunger and misery. It provides more than sufficient for the comfort of all and allows some of them to starve to death!

Something is wrong. What is the defect in the capitalist system? It is that while enough is produced to sustain society, the product is so badly distributed that, while some have access to more wealth than they can reasonably consume, the vast majority are without the comforts of life, and many even starve in the midst of plenty.

The question then arises: Why this failure to provide each member of society with the things he needs?

To answer this question we must discover how wealth is distributed, and in doing so we shall find out how wealth is produced.

Economic wealth can only be produced by the application of human energy to raw materials.

One may speak of "a wealth of forest" or "a wealth of sunshine," but both forest and sunshine may exist where man is not, and therefore be of no use to him. The wealth of nature must be made available and useful to man before it is economic wealth.

All those who are expending their energy in transforming nature given material into useful articles, or making it available for use, are engaged in wealth production. This task is performed by the workers.

When the workers have produced the wealth it does not belong to them. The basis of the system is the private ownership of the tools and instruments of production. The tools and machinery necessary for bringing wealth into being are not owned by the users. The land and raw materials are privately owned. Apart from the workers there is a separate class who, owning the tools of production, having the power to refuse the non-possessors access to the means of life, lay down the conditions under which alone those tools shall be operated. One of the conditions is that the wealth when produced shall belong, not to the producer, but to the owner of the tools of production.

The continual introduction of machinery turning out ever more and more wealth with the same or a lesser expenditure of labour power, continually glut the markets of the world. The restricted purchasing power of the mass of the community forces the masters to check the increase by discharging their employees, and so a constant army of unemployed is created, still further reducing both the total wage bill and the total purchasing power of the worker.

The fact is that for capitalism to continue

profits must increase and wages relatively decline, and to increase wages would ultimately smash the capitalist system.

The producers have no claim or title to the things they have brought into being; but some of their product is necessary for their sustenance, and wealth is distributed among them in exchange for the wages which are paid them for their labour power. These wages are exchanged for food, clothing, and shelter, and the existing poverty is due to the fact that the wages provided are not sufficient to enable them to purchase the requisite amount of those necessities.

Can this defect be removed? Can the capitalist system be reformed to alter this obvious fault? That it cannot be is soon seen by a glance at modern capitalism.

In the first place we have to recognise an antagonism of interests between the workers or wage-earners and the non-workers or masters of the tools of production. The workers strive to increase their wages so that they may buy back a larger share of their product. The masters, who enter the field of production in order to obtain money, realise that the greater the share of the wealth given to the producers the smaller will be the portion left for them. Moreover, each concern is competing with its neighbour, and each country has its competitors abroad, and in order to obtain the money they require they must sell the workers' product in the markets of the world, they have to offer their goods at the lowest price.

The article of merchandise has no value in itself to the capitalist. The investor in coal mines does not want the coal. Rockefeller does not consume the oil produced from the springs in which he is "interested." These commodities will exchange for gold, and to obtain gold is the immediate object of the capitalist. Each commodity will exchange for so much gold, and to enlarge his share or profit he must obtain his goods as cheaply as he can; he must pay as low a wage as possible for the production of a given amount of commodities.

Both these arguments are false. The man who has not assimilated the fact that the workers are robbed every day of their lives, and that the capital which the masters possess is simply the accumulated fruits of that robbery, is in no fit condition to teach working-class people.

Further, everyday experience testifies to the utter failure of reforms to prevent starvation and poverty in all its forms. It is, again, an unwarrantable assumption that such social reforms as are actually practicable have been and are being adopted as the result of "Socialist" agitation.

Social reform is as old as capitalism. It proceeds from the development of industry, which

wages bill, however, will not be increased, for one man gets the "sack" and receives no wages at all.

In some industries to day the rate of wages has increased from 6d. to 9d. per hour, but the men are speeded up to such an extent that they double their output in eight hours, while they previously worked ten. Thus they divide the number employed by two, and the total wage paid by the master is less, while his profit may have increased.

Again, if the cost of living increases then money wages may gradually rise, but real wages may decline all the time.

There is at the present moment a demand on all sides for an increase in wages, and in some trades it is claimed that an increase can be shown. But alongside that we have to place other facts—firstly, that this is merely an increase in the rate of wages, and does not take into consideration the increasing and ever-lengthening periods of unemployment, and also that the Board of Trade returns show that a wage of £1 to day is but equivalent to a wage of 16s. 3d. in 1895. Money wages have not increased 25 per cent. during the same period, consequently wages have fallen.

The continual introduction of machinery turning out ever more and more wealth with the same or a lesser expenditure of labour power, continually glut the markets of the world. The restricted purchasing power of the mass of the community forces the masters to check the increase by discharging their employees, and so a constant army of unemployed is created, still further reducing both the total wage bill and the total purchasing power of the worker.

The fact is that for capitalism to continue

profits must increase and wages relatively decline, and to increase wages would ultimately smash the capitalist system.

Unemployment, low paid wage-slavery, poverty and destitution are necessary for the continuation of the system, and to remove the one we must abolish the other. The basis of the capitalist system is the cause of the evil, and as no reform can alter it the system must go. How this can best be done may be the subject of a further article.

SOCIALISM VERSUS THE SERVILE STATE.

We have heard a good deal this last six months or so in various quarters about the Servile State. According to Mr. Hilaire Belloc, the author of a book possessing that title, we of the working class are in danger of becoming slaves as a result of modern social legislation.

Belloc is quite enough to recognise that this legislation, while approved in principle by many so-called Socialist bodies, such as the Fabian Society and the I.L.P., is not Socialism, and does not make for Socialism. He shows ably enough that the nationalisation and municipalisation of public services, coupled with various measures, such as the Labour Exchange and the Insurance Act, so far from emancipating the workers, only tighten their bonds and give greater security to the capitalist class.

Nevertheless, he is illogical enough to go on calling the reformers, who applaud these things, Socialists, and even to deny that genuine Socialism is the objective of anybody. Mr. Belloc appears to imagine that the Socialist shrinks from confiscating the property of the capitalist class, and further, takes for granted that social reforms will give the workers security and sufficiency.

Both these arguments are false. The man who

has not assimilated the fact that the workers are robbed every day of their lives, and that the capital which the masters possess is simply the accumulated fruits of that robbery, is in no fit condition to teach working-class people.

Further, everyday experience testifies to the utter failure of reforms to prevent starvation and poverty in all its forms. It is, again, an unwarrantable assumption that such social reforms as are actually practicable have been and are being adopted as the result of "Socialist" agitation.

Social reform is as old as capitalism. It proceeds from the development of industry, which

May, 1913.

is ever compelling the capitalist class to re-adapt the machinery of government to new conditions, if they would exploit the labour of the wage earners as economically as possible.

The attempt to popularise reforms is only one method of preserving to the masters the allegiance of the workers on the political field.

In so far as Belloc's arguments imply that the Fabian Society and the I.L.P. are the tools of the capitalist class, this writer agrees with him. I fall out with him when he tells us that the workers are exchanging freedom for security.

On the contrary, we claim that the workers are slaves now, and have been since the establishment of capitalism, and that slavery under modern conditions must be wage slavery, which implies competition and insecurity.

Let us take Mr. Belloc's own definition of slavery. He gives it, for example, in "Everyman" (29.11.12) as: "A society in which any considerable body of men can be compelled to labour by positive law to the advantage of others is a servile society."

Now the only way the law can compel anybody to do anything is by penalising them for not doing it. Can Mr. Belloc tell us of any alternative to wage-earning which men without property can adopt without being legally punished? Stealing, begging, wandering about without visible means of subsistence—all these are punishable offences. Even if a wage-earner attempts to commit suicide he has to be successful if he wants to avoid the law! Altogether it would seem that the capitalist class had got all the laws necessary to compel the property-less to work, and if wage-earning is not working for the benefit of the capitalists it would be interesting to know what object these benevolent individuals have in employing us.

The differences between wage slavery and other forms of slavery have been admirably summarised by Marx in "Value, Price, and Profit." Says he in Chapter IX:—

"Although one part only of the workman's daily labour is paid, while the other part is unpaid, and while that unpaid or surplus labour constitutes exactly the fund out of which *surplus value or profit* is formed, it seems as if the aggregate labour was paid labour.

"This false appearance distinguishes *wages labour* from other *historical forms of labour*. On the basis of the wages system even the *unpaid labour* seems to be paid labour. With the slave, on the contrary, even that part of his labour which is paid appears to be unpaid. Of course, in order to work the slave must live, and one part of his working day goes to replace the value of his own maintenance. But since no bargain is struck between him and his master, . . . all his labour seems to be given away for nothing.

"Take, on the other hand, the peasant serf . . . This peasant worked, for example, three days for himself on his own field and three days for his lord, and the subsequent three days he performed compulsory and gratuitous labour on the estate of his lord. Here, then, the paid and unpaid parts of labour were sensibly separated, in time and space . . .

"In point of fact, however, whether a man works three days of the week for himself on his own field and three days for nothing on the estate of his lord, or whether he works in the factory six hours daily for himself and six for his employer, comes to the same, although in the latter case the paid and unpaid portions of labour are inseparably mixed up with each other, and the nature of the whole transaction is completely masked by the intervention of a contract and the pay received at the end of the week."

The wage-earners, be they employed in factory, mine, office, or warehouse, work to produce, not only an equivalent of their wages, but a profit. They are compelled to do this by the fear of starvation which is necessarily imposed on them by the owners of the means of producing wealth. The only difference between their reward and the reward of serfs and slaves is the fact that it takes the shape of money and is called wages—albeit it represents on the average just sufficient to enable them to go on working.

These development has two results which cut

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

Unlike the relationship between chattels, serfs, etc., and their lords and masters, the relationship between wage-earners and capitalists is not, *per se*, a personal one. Its basis is essentially economic. That is to say, the wage-earner is forced into his "free contract" with the capitalist firm, trust, or State Department by the lack of the means of producing wealth for himself. The chattel-slave owners and the barons of the Middle Ages used the *lash* and the *sword* to drive their slaves to toil. The capitalist has no need to resort to such "barbarous" practices. It is the fear of starvation which causes the propertyless to turn up at the factory or wherever they may be employed.

Moreover, the wage-earner is not tied to any one capitalist. He may leave his master, though he must, of course, find another. The modern worker is a self-selling commodity. He exchanges his labour-power, embodied in his brain and muscle, for money, which will buy him the necessities of subsistence.

Now the fact that the labour-power is an article of sale implies that the product of labour is for sale also. The wage-earner does not produce wealth for the personal consumption of their masters as did the chattel slave and the serf. They produce for the *social market*, and it is from that market, the common stores of society, that they as well as the capitalists draw their material requirements.

The specialisation of the industrial processes, the development of machinery and the means of communication and transit, have, under the auspices of the capitalists, revolutionised the character of production. They have broken down all the petty local barriers that separated men from each other; they have torn asunder the personal ties between the producers and the parasites; they have, in short, developed to maturity the social element in the production of wealth.

The fact that all wealth is, to-day, expressed in terms of money is but an indication of this. All articles of wealth are articles of sale. The workers of the world are knit together in one vast system of production and distribution dominated by the power of gold, of capital. But in achieving this capital has played its part—it is time is up.

So long as the workers were isolated and produced chiefly for their own wants, money was barely necessary.

When, by improvements in tools and skill, the workers became able to produce a considerable surplus of special products, the exchange of these products rendered money indispensable. Hence there developed the buyers and sellers, the merchants, forerunners of the modern capitalists.

These men had an incentive in encouraging production for sale instead of for use. By fraud and force they destroyed the independence won by the handicraftsmen and peasants from their feudal superiors, and converted them into wage-earners—but they called into existence forces which are now hopelessly beyond their control.

By developing co-operation between the workers throughout the world's factories, fields and offices they have undermined their own system.

Despite all Belloc's arguments, however, precious "freedom" to leave one capitalist and go to another or starve is not likely to be seriously interfered with. Competition is the mainspring of the existing order, and as such involves "free" labour. But although this is the case, it is indisputable that the characteristic features of the system become more and more pronounced.

The gulf between the classes grows wider. The bonds tighten! Fellow workers, prepare for the Revolution! To hell with the Servile State!

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

occupations which are only necessary because of the existence of this anarchic system of production.

Organise production and distribution scientifically and there would be, not only sufficient of the material necessities for a full, happy life for all, but also the leisure in which to enjoy them, and in which to cultivate other sides of human nature, besides the capacity to indulge in mechanical toil.

Therefore there is no longer any reason for the existence of a class separate from and above the workers. So long as the labour of all members of society was necessary to secure the existence of society classes were impossible. As soon as the productive forces had increased sufficiently, leisure and comfort became possible for *all*. Hence there arose the struggle for mastery which resulted in the existence of two classes—rich and poor—incidentally wiping out the old tribal and social divisions between men.

To-day, however, the means and methods of production are capable of providing comfort and leisure for *all*. There is no reason why every individual should not have the opportunity of complete physical and mental development.

In other words, class society, founded on the institution of private property, an artificial product of the above-mentioned struggle, is now obsolete. Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, based on the common ownership and democratically organised control of the means of producing wealth, and, therefore, of the wealth itself, are now possible. The industrial revolution has taken place. A mental, political, and social revolution is now inevitable. The unity of the workers in the industrial process must express itself sooner or later in the shape of a conscious organisation of the working class, aiming at the possession of the means of production.

Economic evolution has emancipated the workers *politically*. The modern ruling class, unlike its predecessors, is unable to maintain its supremacy save with the *coercion* of the workers themselves. It but remains for the workers to organise and withdraw from the masters' control the machinery of government, including the armed forces. The road will then be clear for the establishment of Socialism. Thus must the workers abolish the "Servile State."

To return finally to Belloc, the workers need fear no other form of slavery than that they are subjected to now. The legislation he boggles at only expresses the difference between modern wage-slavery and the slavery of old. Modern wage-slavery is essentially *class* slavery, as distinguished from personal chattel slavery. Therefore it rests with the agent of the capitalist class as a whole, namely, the bureaucratic State, to maintain that slavery. Social reform is one of its methods of doing it.

Despite all Belloc's arguments, however, precious "freedom" to leave one capitalist and go to another or starve is not likely to be seriously interfered with. Competition is the mainspring of the existing order, and as such involves "free

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed to The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 103 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free ... 1s. 6d.
Six " " " 9d.

The Socialist Standard,



THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1913.

A DEADLY PARALLEL.

"To-day you have greater poverty in the aggregate in the land than you have ever had."

Lloyd George at Cardiff, December 1911.

"Since 1905 the income of the Income Tax paying class has increased by £18,000,000." —Mr. Chiozza Money in the "Daily Chronicle," 18.4.13.

It is May Day again—a day symbolic of, and sacred to, all that the children of toil have lost. It is May Day—the day when the ghost of the departed joy of life stalks abroad for all working-class eyes to see, lest working-class minds, seeped in their grey stone prisons, forget. It is May Day, the day when, in old-time fancy, Nature balances her books and commences another busy round—therefore it is a peculiarly fitting day for our annual stock taking.

The two quotations at the head of this column might have been left to tell their own tale but for the circumstance that they serve a very useful purpose in our survey. They put the total at the foot of the balance sheet in figures that cannot be challenged. They cry aloud that all the ceaseless toil of those who do the work of the world results in nothing but dead loss to them, while the idlers become more opulent than ever!

"It is not that we are not making progress," mumbles Lord Haldane to his fellow parasites at the Eighty Club. It looks like it, indeed. Lloyd George confirms the statement when he assures the money-grabbers of the Kingdom in his Budget speech that despite the all-round increase in the cost of maintaining their thieves' kitchen, no new taxes will be required to be levied—the growth of their plunder far outstrips the stupendous cost of their armaments, and the pimpling increase in their expenditure upon "social reform."

Yes, our masters are making fine progress—there can be no doubt about that. But how is it with the working class? What progress are we making? Sixteen months ago the man who, from his official position, should know as much about it as anyone in the Kingdom, told us that we had "greater poverty in the aggregate" than we have ever had before. That "greater poverty" is the gift of our boasted civilisation, not to the idle and lazy, not to those who don't work for their livelihood, but to the industrious, to those who toil in very weariness and pain. It is the fruit of all our wonderful invention, the offering of our conquest of the elements. We harnessed the wind to our wheels and made water turn our grindstones for us. We conquered steam for our purpose, and have entrammelled electricity. But every fresh conquest has made us work harder; every new outburst of the torrent of wealth has made us poorer; every addition to the good things which our hard hands produce has sent us hungrier to bed.

Those who think that against all this must be set what they are pleased to refer to as the "inestimable blessings of civilisation" may have those inflated blessings reduced to their true value in very short time.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

M. GEORGE (Toronto).—It will take a month of our spare time to understand the meaning of your very vague question, even if we can understand it at all. See next issue.

PECKHAM BRANCH.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

WILL BE HELD

AT BRANCH PREMISES,

41, ALBERT ROAD,

EVERY SUNDAY

AFTERNOON (open discussion) - - - 3.30

EVENING (lecture) - - - 8.0

EVERY WEDNESDAY

AT 8.30 THERE WILL BE

AN IMPROMPTU DEBATE.

All Heartily Welcome. Admission Free.

F. G. T.

ON THE KNEE, DOG!

—oo—

Mr. Seebom Rowntree made a calculation of the cost of the primary necessities for a family of five persons. The dietary was too stringent to allow for beer, tobacco or butcher's meat, and the limit of luxury was touched in tea—once a week. Here is the table:

	s. d.
Expenditure on Food	12 9
Rent and Rates	4 0
Clothing, including boots	2 3
Fuel	1 10
Lighting, washing materials, furniture, crockery, etc.	10
	21 8

Low as this estimate is, Mr. Rowntree found just upon a third of the total population of York, a typical provincial city, existing either below, upon, or very little above, it. Mr. C. Booth found a like condition of things existing in London, while other investigators have shown that such poverty is general all over the country.

Now you who are looking for the "amenities of civilisation" have before you the condition of things as they affect nearly one third of the people of the richest country in the world, or rather, as they did affect them ten years ago, before prices had risen to their present height, and before "poverty in the aggregate" had the altitude at which Lloyd George finds it to-day.

But where are you to find the "blessings of civilisation"? Are they in the first line: "Food 12s. 9d.?" A farmer could not keep five pigs on the money. Are they in the second or third line? A savage would scorn the stinking prison den in which so many of our children are born and die, and would decline the responsibility of clothing five bodies on 2s. 3d. a week.

All the amenities for which these workers have exchanged the fresh air, the pure food, the leisure and natural freedom of their forefathers must be sought in the line: "Lighting, washing materials, furniture, crockery, etc. 10d." Medicines and medical attendance, insurance, newspapers and books, postage stamps, bus, tram, railway fares, the cinema, the theatre, the bicycle, the country excursion, and the thousand and one other "blessings of civilisation" have to be paid for, in the case of nearly one-third of the people of wealthy, merry England, with what is left, after paying for soap, soda and candles, pots, pans and dishes, bedding, carpets and the piano, out of 10d. a week! Seven days of the amenities of modern civilisation for the *surplus* of 2d. per head!

Oh, if the workers would only understand that all this "progress," which under the social system at present obtaining, runs to their masters, and leaves those who do the work every day in more abject poverty, could so easily be made to give every unit of society a full and a happy existence, free from the cankerous anxiety of insecurity, free from the withering blight of never ending toil!

Ah, well! since the only way is through Socialism, it follows that it is also through the Socialist propaganda, and so long as this goes forward we can say with Lord Haldane—*we are making progress.*

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

May, 1913.

May, 1913.

WHAT WE HAVE LOST.

—oo—

The death of J. Pierpont Morgan has raised again the old cry of the "self-made man," and we have been shown how, by his own unaided efforts, he had amassed millions.

J.P. cannot claim the doubtful credit of having started as a bootblack, yet (says the "Daily Chronicle") "it would scarcely be correct, though his father left him £2,000,000 and a well-established banking business in New York and London, to say that he was not a self-made man."

However apparent it may be that the man has no actual dealings with the production of wealth, yet we are continually told, even at this late hour, that the millionaire, though he starts life with a million or two, is self-made!

The intelligent worker will naturally ask: If that which other parties claim as Socialism is not such, what, then, is? This we shall set ourselves to answer, hoping that those interested will follow the question further.

It has been well said that the essence of Socialism springs from two laws—an economic and a sociological law—the law of exchange value and the law that man is a tool-using and tool-producing animal. Let us consider the meaning of the law of exchange value.

In present-day society (known as capitalism) the wealth produced takes the form of commodities, i.e., articles produced for exchange. Now the value of commodities is determined by the time socially necessary to produce them. If less time is necessary to produce boots than was the case before, the value of boots will sink; if it is necessary for society to spend more time in producing a given number of boots, the value will rise.

It is this fact that gives such a smashing blow to the anti-Socialist argument that the personal supervision of the capitalist is necessary for success. The small, personally-conducted business is just the concern that is being crushed out—to make room for the giant trust and combine. It is easily seen why this is so. The larger concern, which employs a "lieutenant," gives him a greater amount of work to do; gives him the opportunity to organise on a large scale, so reducing management expenses. Raw materials are more cheaply obtained; middlemen are eliminated. The cost of distribution, too, is reduced, and the larger concern is able to introduce huge mechanical contrivances, and so dispense with the highly priced labour necessary to the smaller trader.

The small trader who conducts his own business which, when developed and complex, are known as machines. Other animals are limited to the use of their bodily limbs, but man has developed artificial limbs, so to speak, with which he has been able to kill off the animals most dangerous to himself, including his own kind, and thus secure the world for his own advantage.

As industry becomes more and more centralised, so the uselessness of the capitalist becomes more and more apparent. Industry is not run by the Morgans and the Rockefellers. Wealth is not made on the Stock Exchange, though even there the removal of "the money king" had "exceedingly little effect . . . either in London or New York."

This "multi-millionaire" who, with G. F. Baker, was reputed to control 16 per cent. of the wealth of the United States, passes away, and not one cent of his income ceases to roll in; not a wheel in all the great industries ceases to turn—wealth is produced as rapidly without this

great financier as with him.

It drives home again the lesson that it is the worker who produces the wealth. It is the wage-earners who, with their blood and sweat, build up the vast fortunes of the Stock Exchange gamblers. The blood of the Pittsburg miners is the foundation of Morgan's ill-gotten gains, and the slaving multitudes of American workers have been sped and sweated, maimed and murdered, in order to produce an income for idle parasites to enjoy.

Could anything be plainer? Is there any useful function performed by the capitalist that could not be done by the working class?

It is obvious—the reply is in the negative.

TWELVE

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

THE ESSENCE OF SOCIALISM.

—oo—

The Socialist Party is out for Socialism. Before Socialism can be attained the people must be converted to Socialism. Therefore the S.P.G.B. is out to make Socialists.

This in itself is no easy task, but it is made the more difficult by the existence in our midst of parties and individuals, talking in the name of Socialism, who are merely reactionaries and place seekers. Hence, not only have we the task of converting the workers to Socialism, but also the more difficult work of clearing from their minds the rubbish instilled into them by the capitalist and pseudo Socialist parties.

The intelligent worker will naturally ask: If that which other parties claim as Socialism is not such, what, then, is? This we shall set ourselves to answer, hoping that those interested will follow the question further.

It has been well said that the essence of Socialism springs from two laws—an economic and a sociological law—the law of exchange value and the law that man is a tool-using and tool-producing animal. Let us consider the meaning of the law of exchange value.

In the side of an agricultural class there arose a manufacturing class, who were hampered by the laws of the lords. These laws had to be abolished, and to do this a complete revolution was necessary. This was effected by the manufacturing class with the aid of the workers—in the French Revolution of 1789 and the revolution of 1832 in England. With the abolition of feudalism we enter into capitalist society.

Under capitalism we find society divided into two classes—a class who own the means of production and a class who own nothing but their power to labour. The latter, owning no means of production, cannot employ themselves, therefore they must hire themselves out to the owners of these means.

The masters pay in wages, sufficient, on the average, to enable the worker to reproduce his labour-power. This amount the worker replaces in, say two hours a day, but he goes on working eight, ten, or twelve hours longer. All this time he is producing surplus wealth for his master. Can this be changed? Not in capitalist society, for the government is in the hands of the masters, who have thereby the power to enforce their demands with the aid of the military and police forces.

We have seen that society has changed from primitive communism by way of a system based on chattel-slavery to feudalism, and then to capitalism. Will capitalism give way to another social order?

Yes, for it is in a law that when a class becomes useless and a hindrance, society, in order to exist and develop, must remove that class, just as in biology, when an organ becomes useless it will become defunct. This has been seen in the case of the chattel-slave owners and the feudal lords. It will be the same with the capitalists.

With the opening up of a world market through the discovery of America and the Cape route to India, the capitalist class were needed to stock the markets with goods. For this they are no longer necessary. By present-day methods of production the markets can be overstocked very quickly indeed. Hence there arises at certain intervals industrial crises, causing the smaller capitalists, who cannot last over the period of stagnation, to be thrown into the ranks of the working class. Thus as capitalism develops the bulk of the wealth of society falls into ever fewer hands, enhancing the power of the idle capitalist class over the working class population.

Through blind production of wealth these glutted markets and crises appear at ever closer intervals. Only the extension of the markets has staved off capitalist society from complete incompetency; but the markets of the world are limited. With the development of capitalism its insufficiency becomes more apparent and the forces for revolution consequently stronger.

It is evident that capitalism is doomed. What system of society is to take its place?

A glance at the society of to day will convince anyone that it is not for want of producing enough wealth that the workers are living in primitive degradation, but owing to the machinery of production being owned by a few, production is being carried on for the benefit of those few. Clearly, then, if society is to change to a more economically developed society, it must change to a system wherein the land, factories, machinery, mines, etc., shall be owned by the whole community.

Then, instead of having a class of parasitic idlers with their hangers-on, e.g., mil-

tary, police, and menials, all shall take part in production, and so reduce the time of labour of all workers and allow opportunity for educational and recreative purposes for all. This is Socialism.

It may be claimed that other parties besides the S.P.G.B. say they stand for the same thing. That may be so. But saying they are out for Socialism does not prove that they are earnestly and honestly endeavouring to attain Socialism. If it can be proved that these parties are playing into the hands of the master class that will be quite sufficient to brand them as pseudo-Socialist.

The British Socialist Party, who are no other than the S.D.P. disguised, have played the traitorous rôle time and again. Putting aside their old record, we find many of their executive thinking more of the safety of capitalist society than of Socialism, and advocating more armaments, and so on. As if the army and navy are used in any other interest than the masters! For fear of injuring the circulation of privately owned papers ("Justice" and "The Clarion") they fear to publish an official organ, thus keeping the public in the dark as to the nature of their organisation. So toady-turvy is the B.S.P. that Mr. H. Quelch appeals, in "Justice," March 28, to its members not to allow the Anarchists in the Party too much rope!

The Fabian Society and the Independent Labour Party can be taken together, for there is really no difference between them. Boasted by "middle-class" men and place-hunters, these parties are preaching a spurious Socialism in the form of nationalisation and municipalisation. The small "middle class," recognising that they can no longer compete successfully against the giant capitalists, realise the chance of obtaining safe national and municipal posts, hence their advocacy of these undertakings.

These parties, through their leaders, will compromise with and openly support the master-class parties, for the purpose of gaining the favour of the capitalists. The man is of poor stuff indeed, who thinks that the Fabian Society and the I.L.P. are Socialist parties.

The Socialist Labour Party is another party that doesn't know where it is. First being indistinct from the Social-Democratic Federation, it wobbled into a state of anarchy, and now, by its tactics of rubbing shoulders with all and sundry, it has become the laughing-stock of all. One of its chiefs is asking that we support Messrs. Leonard Hall, Smart, Grayson and Gaylord Wilshire—all reactionaries. Another shaming light of this party says: "I don't know two of these men, but George Lansbury will beat the lot, for look how he supported the women." It is needless to say more of this party, for their chief scribe declares: "The S.L.P. is on its last legs and is about dead."

The Socialist Party of Great Britain is the only Socialist party in this country. Recognising the need for political and economic action by the workers, it has at all times kept clear of compromising and shady tactics. Knowing that if the workers are to be free they themselves must strike the blow, the S.P.G.B. is out to educate the workers in their position in society.

When the wage slaves understand what this position really is, they will organise themselves into class-conscious political and industrial organisations for the purpose of overthrowing the capitalist class and their system. Then the misery and poverty of capitalism will be replaced by the contentment and grandeur of the Socialist Commonwealth.

1. MARKS.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—
 "Weekly People" (New York).
 "Gaelic American" (New York).
 "British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
 "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
 "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
 "Freedom" (London).
 "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
 "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
 "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
 "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
 "The Call" (New York).
 "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
 "International News Letter" (Berlin).

JOTTINGS.

WHEN the Socialist says that laws are made by the capitalist class in their own interests he is pooh poohed by the unthinking. All the more interesting, therefore, is the admission to this effect by the "Daily News and Leader" of 12th April last.

In a leaderette dealing with Sir Stuart Samuel's expulsion from his Parliamentary seat upon a technicality, the Liberal organ of the chocolate Czar pointed out rightly that "If Sir Stuart Samuel's firm had been a limited company instead of a partnership, the present law would have had nothing to say, and there are many directors in the House of Commons of companies which enter into contracts with the Government." Then follows the admission of the necessity for the political prize-fighters and word-twisters in these words:

"It ought not to be beyond the CUNNING OF STATESMEN to work out a law based upon a clear principle, which satisfies modern needs." Further comment would spoil it.

Seldom does the fact of the law being more favourable to one class of the community than the other come to the surface more plainly than in a recent appeal for the reduction of a sentence of three years' penal servitude for manslaughter by a motor-car owner.

Counsel for the appellant, whilst not denying criminal negligence on his client's part, did contend that the sentence was heavy, "having regard to the fact that the prisoner was a man of good birth, and was a motor engineer carrying on his own business" ("Manchester Guardian," 19.3.13).

From which one gathers that the same sentence upon a man not of good birth, and not carrying on his own business, in other words, a working man, would not have been heavy. If not, why the plea?

The Judges of Appeal agreed that it was a case for arguing and granted the appeal.

Jokes often illustrate essential points. The following is a good example:

A cabman was asked to drive to the Royal Courts of Justice.

"Where, sir?" queried cabby. "I dunno where they are."

"Surely, cabby, you know them; they're in the Strand."

"Oh! I know, sir. You mean the Law Courts."

Shade of Kynochs! Patriotism seems to be very much the same thing the whole world over. I quote the following from a capitalist paper.

"With the corroboration of official documents, the Vorwarts of April 14th exposes an ingenious form of secret Trust, which has been established for the benefit of German manufacturers of shipbuilding materials.

"Whenever a firm is asked by a shipyard for a quotation it sends particulars of the communication to central office at Dortmund, which then puts all those who have been approached in the matter in touch with one another. After they have agreed among themselves as to the price they are to ask, it is quoted approximately, plus 10 per cent. The manufacturer who finally receives the order remits this 10 per cent. to the central office, which, after deducting a tenth to cover its own expenses, divides the balance among the unsuccessful competitors.

"The Vorwarts, which heads its disclosures 'Remunerative Patriotism,' says:

"This is fine business at the cost of the State and the taxpayer, who have thereby been done out of many fair millions. Such patriotism pays. It yields magnificent profits, and there remain over substantial subsidies for the patriotic newspapers which, in the battle for the honour of the German Empire, daily beat the war-drum and prove in black and white that Germany must unquestionably accelerate her naval construction if she does not want to lose her place in the world."

"A Swedish engineer named Ekstedt has invented an ingenious telephone apparatus which is self-receiving and afterwards self-speaking.

"Further particulars are kept secret, but ex-

perts who have watched the experiments are convinced that the invention is of great importance." ("Daily Telegraph," 15.4.13.)

Hello, Exchange! I say, your number's up!

* * *

The saving of wages goes merrily on. Read the following from the "Daily Chronicle":

"Crowds of people were yesterday watching a demonstration of a motor vacuum road cleaning machine, arranged for the benefit of municipal engineers who had gathered from all parts of the country. The machine is the invention of an Italian engineer, and is constructed by Messrs. J. and P. Hill, of Sheffield. It consists of an ordinary-looking commercial motor car. Underneath, in touch with the surface of the road, is a long cylindrical brush, which makes about 120 revolutions a minute in the opposite direction to that of the car. This causes a powerful suction, which gathers up the mud, dust and other refuse, and deposits it into two bins, each holding about a ton. It cleans up everything in its path, from a tram ticket to a large stone.

"Figures given as a result of recent tests at Southport show that the machine will clean 12,000 square yards at a cost of 4s. 4d. as against 11s. 8d. by the old method. Orders have already been placed by the authorities at Glasgow, Manchester and Southport."

Profit to the owner. Starvation to the hireling!

J. B.

A PADDINGTON PLACARD.

We desire to announce to the workers of Kilburn and North Kensington that Paddington Branch is holding meetings at Victoria Rd., High Rd., Kilburn, on Wednesdays at 8.30 p.m., and at Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., North Kensington on Fridays at 8.30 p.m.

This announcement will also constitute an effective salute to "our nearest friends," the sympathetic scribes of the local sheets, who want Socialism in rag-time, please.

They are somewhat perturbed at the approach of summer, and with it the Socialist Party's street-corner propagandists. This should allay their fears.

And then there is that Paddington pest, who revels in mouthing that miserable lie about the Socialists of Great Britain who hibernate during the winter to blossom forth with the flowers in May. There will be no plausible excuse after this—he will know where to find us in future, when he can present a case against us without resorting to dirty innuendoes and lying misrepresentation.

We are enjoying large audiences at Kilburn, and the prospects of forming a branch are promising. The wiseacres of Anti Socialists are in attendance twice a week when sober, and they regale their dupes with the ancient wheezes about us, which occasionally make them grin, but never prompt an intelligent question.

To get the workers to think and act is our business, not theirs, and in making this raid upon the preserves of these agents of reaction and confusion we shall ruthlessly expose and condemn them.

The local B.S.P. members boom the "Daily Herald," advocate Syndicalism, and consciously do everything to frustrate the workers in realising what Socialism is and what it implies. For the workers to support such frauds as those is tantamount to committing suicide. We counsel them to ignore with contempt such a treacherous party. Have nothing to do with them! Attend our meetings, give an attentive hearing to our speakers and question them if need be.

We don't ask you to take for granted what we say just because we say it. We implore you to stop and think—stop and consider what your position in modern society represents. Reflect upon the value life has for you under the present hellish conditions! Listen to the Socialist Party's propaganda and ponder over it. Procure our literature, the finest obtainable, and read it up, because men and women must be educated in order that they may be free.

Then, having achieved education, organise on class lines for the conquest of political power, making for the overthrow of slavery and bringing about the birth of the Society of the future.

BEN CARTHURS.

May, 1913.

May, 1913.

THE FORUM.

THOSE TEASING TAXES!

S. SMITH (Scunthorpe) writes:

"I have read your leaflet on Rates and Taxes, but cannot agree as to your views in suggesting that the workers do not pay all the taxes, etc.

"I always thought that the workers produced all and paid even the taxes for the idle class. The railways, as you know, pass on the increase of the rise to the public. This is generally the same with all commodities."

Our correspondent argues that the working class pay the taxes on the ground that they produce all wealth. He also holds to that view because he thinks prices of commodities are increased to cover taxation.

Both these theories, however, are disposed of in our leaflet. But for one person to urge both these theories shows that confusion exists upon the matter.

If the working class are held to pay the taxes because they produce all wealth, then the further argument that they pay also in increased prices is quite superfluous. Mr. Smith should first decide which view he will advance.

Both, however, are false. True, the workers produce all wealth. But as they only get a portion of it back—in the shape of wages—they evidently are not in a position to pay for everything. As the average wage of the worker is just enough to keep him in the condition to go on working, his class have no fund out of which to pay the millions that are levied in taxes. Those who take the major portion of the wealth—the capitalists—must pay the taxes, etc., out of the "profits" wrung from the working class.

Our friend says that the railways pass on the increase of the rise to the public. I presume he refers to a rise in the wages of railway employees.

This is another matter, but it has one feature in common with the question of taxation which shows it to be fallacy. If the railway companies could raise their rates upon an increase of wages, why their fierce resistance to the demands for higher wages? If merchants and traders can simply pass the increase in the taxes on to the "public," why do they also make such a determined effort to prevent taxes being raised? These questions await an answer.

Even if the railway companies could raise their rates it would affect the employers more than the workers.

The major portion of the income of railways here is derived from "goods traffic," and a very great part of the passenger income proceeds from the pockets of the "idle class." Though railways environ every city and stretch out across the country, the chance of the workers visiting distant spots is more remote than ever.

But one need not worry. The railway companies, just like traders, have themselves confessed their small chance of getting higher prices. They fear to increase their charges, knowing that directly they do so their income falls. This is the case, of course, especially with the worker. The brewers and publicans told us that the quantity of liquors sold declined rapidly when they tried to get higher prices.

They know how true it is that the workers' purchasing power is strictly limited, and that a rise in prices means a fall in the quantity sold. The railways, like the merchants, fight against rising wages and rising taxes. When, however, they are defeated and a rise is effected, they sometimes try and get increased prices on the ground that "the cost has gone up." But how seldom the pretext succeeds every student of current affairs can testify.

Taxes or no taxes, property owners are always seeking and getting the highest prices that the market will sustain. Rising wages and taxes are only lame excuses to "feel the pulse" of the consuming world.

One fact has driven home the truth of our position very greatly recently. During the past seven years the taxes upon the common necessities of life have been continually reduced, yet the rise in the prices of those articles has been, and still is, phenomenal.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

That alone should convince any worker that prices are not governed by taxation.

A. KOHN.

[Your second letter of enquiry, which came to hand too late to be considered in the present issue, will be answered next month. Ed.]

THE RATE OF SURPLUS-VALUE.

[To the Editor.]

Watford.

Sir. Seeing that a definite statement is made (Young's article: "Economics in Brief," 1.4.13) that constant capital creates no value, and that two illustrations are given wherein a surplus of 33 per cent. of the total outlay is mentioned, in the other a surplus of 66 per cent. of the total outlay. If constant capital creates no value does it not follow that the worker has been exploited to the extent of 100 per cent. in each case?

Yours, etc., F. G. PARLEY.

It is quite true that on our assumption the workers have been exploited to the extent of 100 per cent. in each case. The rate of exploitation is the proportion of the surplus-value created by the workers to the amount they receive in wages. For example: If a value of 100 is created by the workers and they receive but 50 there remains a surplus of 50, and the rate of surplus-value or exploitation is 100 per cent.

In the particular portion of the article you refer to I was dealing with the rate of profit. But I was careful not to use the term profit, for this would not have been strictly correct. The term *surplus* on the outlay was preferred, for as was stated in an earlier part of the article, the industrial capitalist cannot retain the whole of the surplus-value for himself, but has to pay over certain portions to the financial capitalist in the form of interest, and to the ground landlord in the form of rent, etc.

Profit, therefore, is that portion of the surplus-value that remains after all expenses have been considered, and the rate of profit is the proportion of this to the total capital which is invested.

The fact that other expenses may be incurred does not in the least affect our illustration if we assume that they are the same in each case.

H. A. Y.

PROFITS BEFORE LIFE.

"The profits will not allow it."

Rarely has the plain, tragic truth been so bluntly stated by a capitalist as on April 28th in the Westminster Coroner's Court.

The Coroner was holding an inquiry into the "accident" that took place upon a building in course of erection in High Holborn.

Two and a half tons of iron was being hoisted by a crane "made to take three tons." Everything was brand new.

Henry James Matthews a lad of 18, acting as a crane signalman, was killed as the result of the chain of the crane breaking.

After the poor lad's brother had given evidence, the Coroner called a member of the firm that made the chain.

After great difficulty the Coroner got the makers to give evidence. The secretary of the company that supplied it offered the Coroner some certificates, but said that he knew nothing about the chain itself.

The Coroner was forced to remark that "it seems a very casual way of doing things when a man's life is at stake."

Finally a member of the manufacturing firm told the Coroner that he had been asked to attend "to listen to the evidence." He was asked by the Coroner: "After testing do you go over the chain to see if there are any cracks?"

The answer was a remarkable indictment of this cursed system of society, for he said:

"NO, THE PROFITS WILL NOT ALLOW OF IT!"

"I am not talking about profits," retorted the Coroner. "I am talking about the safety of human life."

Post Free

After some further questions the Coroner was led to say: "You are perfectly well aware of what you are talking about. It is no use trying to baffle me. You are trying to ride round the subject."

A link of the chain was handed to the witness and he was asked why, although the link had snapped, it showed no signs of fracture. All he could say to the point was: "It shows no signs of fracture."

The Coroner said that "looking at the surface of the link you can see it is not a fracture, and that the metal had never been properly welded."

Frederick John Parkes, Factory Inspector, said that the quality of the workmanship of the link was very bad indeed and that the metal was defective. It had not been properly welded.

Even the representative of the building company had to confess that he "found the rest of the chain not perfect."

This is the plain, unvarnished evidence, as reported in the "Evening News" (28.4.13). And it bears out to the fullest extent the charge

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR MAY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	4th.	11th.	18th.	25th.
Battersea, S.E. Pk. Gates	11.30 C. Biggett	A. Barker	C. Elliott	A. W. Pearson
Clapham Common	7.30 A. Kohn	T. W. Allen	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Edmonton Green	3.30 A. Kohn	T. W. Allen	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson
Finsbury Park	7.30 A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson	J. G. Stone	F. J. Rourke
Forest Gate, (Station)	3.30 A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	A. Bays	J. Fitzgerald
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 A. Hoskyns	C. Gatter	H. King	A. Timms
Ilford (station)	7.30 F. J. Rourke	J. G. Stone	A. Kohn	J. Le Carte
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 H. King	J. Brown	C. Gatter	H. King
Parliament Hill	7.30 R. Hughes	A. Timms	A. W. Pearson	W. Lewington
Peckham Triangle	11.30 J. Fitzgerald	A. Anderson	A. Bays	C. Parker
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 C. Baggett	B. Young	J. Myles	T. W. Allen
Belsize Rd., Edgware Rd., Dukes	11.30 S. Blake	C. Baggett	S. Blake	J. G. Stone
Tooting Broadway	12.00 J. G. Stone	J. Fitzgerald	J. Fitzgerald	A. Kohn
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	11.30 E. Lake	C. Elliott	H. King	A. Jacobs
Walham Green Church	7.30 S. Blake	A. Jacobs	A. Barker	H. Cooper
Walthamstow, Horn-st. Stn.	7.30 J. Myles	C. Gatter	J. Rouse	A. Barker
Wood Green, Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 B. Young	W. Lewington	A. Timms	C. Baggett
Watford Market Place	7.30 J. Myles	A. Jacobs	F. J. Rourke	A. Hoskyns
	7.30 A. Bays	F. J. Rourke	J. Fitzgerald	A. Pearson

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cr. 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N.**FRIDAYS.**—Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.**SATURDAYS.**—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. North Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.**SUNDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Streatham, West Cote Rd., 8 p.m. Amhurst Park, Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.**BEDFORD.**—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88 Britania-rd.**CENTRAL.**—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.**EAST HAM.**—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.**EDMONTON.**—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.**FULHAM.**—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.**GRAVESEND.**—Communications to Secy., care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.**ILFORD.**—Communications to Sec., 119 Second Ave., Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Suns. at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.**ISLINGTON.**—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N. where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m.**MANCHESTER.**—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.**MARYLEBONE.**—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.**NOTTINGHAM.**—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Thurs. at 8, at 24 Middle Furlong-rd.**PADDINGTON.**—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portmali-nd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., at 8 p.m. at 81, Harrow Road, W. (side door).**PECKHAM.**—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's-nd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.**—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 150 York-nd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.**STOKE NEWINGTON.**—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons 8.15 at 102, Farleigh-nd.**TOOTING.**—C. Elliott, Sec., 4 Denison-nd., Merton, S.W. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).**TOTTENHAM.**—G. P. Flummer, Sec., 45 Gloucester Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-nd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.**WALTHAMSTOW.**—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badis road. Branch meets Mondays at 8 at the Workmen's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.**WATFORD.**—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

Printed by A. Jacobs, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS
ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.
OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT

7.30 p.m.

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth.

3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. - 5/6 post free.
SINGLE YEAR VOL. - 3/- " "

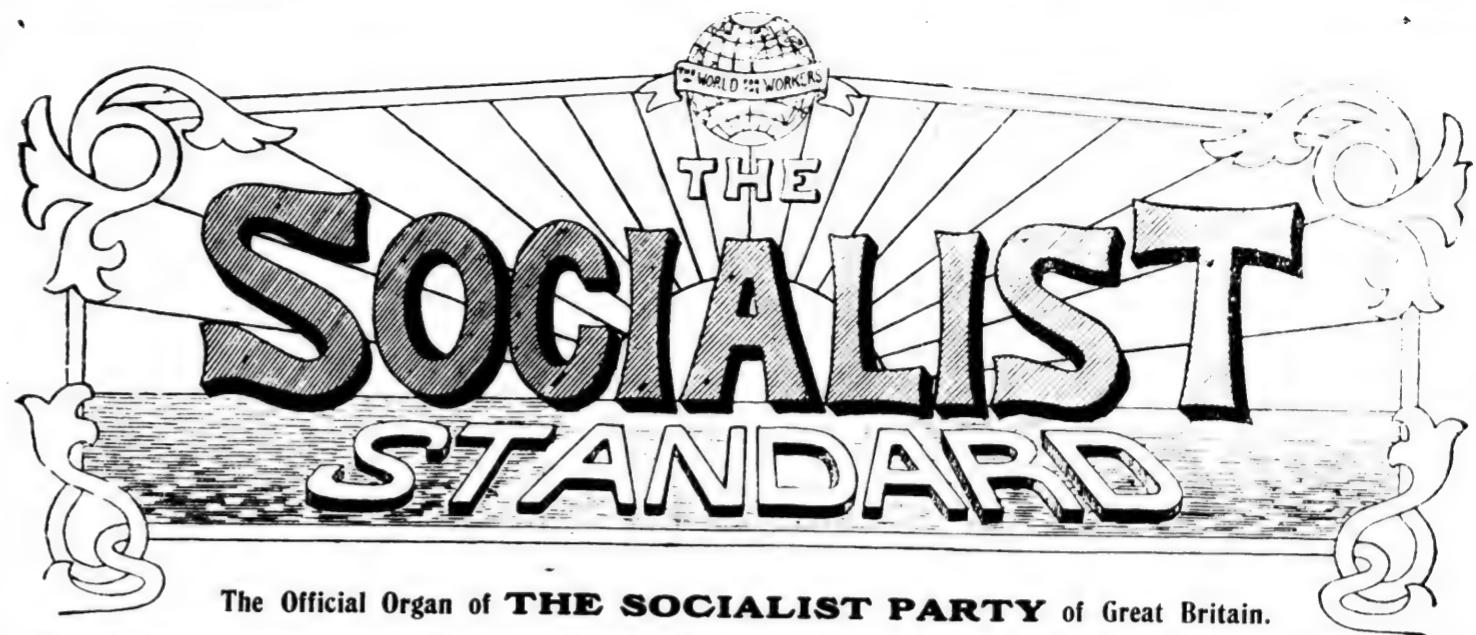
Price 6d. Post Free 7d.

SOCIALISM v. THE LIBERAL PARTY.

A Debate.

Post Free 14d.

Printed by A. Jacobs, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.



The Official Organ of THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain.

N. 106. VOL. 9.]

LONDON, JUNE 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

PUBLIC SAFETY V. RAILWAY PROFITS.

I. THE CLEANER.

The workers in general, and railwaymen in particular, have heard a great deal respecting the "safety of the public" and the "welfare of the country" from the masters and their hangers-on just lately. We also saw the letter of Mr. A. K. Butterworth (General Manager N.E.R.)

That to driver Knox; and, unfortunately, **Fateful** since then one or two "accidents" have **Letter.** taken place which might well make the man in the street wonder whether a train is altogether safe to ride in.

We have in front of us a very big and important question, and it would be impossible in a short article to treat it in all its branches. I propose to deal with a section of the railway workers and their conditions of service, about whom the people know very little; and, as is always the case in like circumstances, a section that is lied about by the prostitute Press and orators of the master class, in the hope of turning public opinion against them. I refer to the men employed in what is known as the "Running Section" of the Locomotive Department of the lines. Let me explain.

The Loco. Dept. consists of all men connected with the Loco. shed work, and also the "running" section, but these latter are classed separately from the rest of the employees because they are employed to "run" the road. The men are doubtless better known as drivers, firemen, and cleaners.

A glance at the title of this article would seem to open up a question of safety in the mind of the thoughtful reader, and I have no hesitation in saying that, as at present run, safety is not the first consideration of the railway magnates. It is profit they think of first, and the services are not safe for many reasons, all of which have a direct bearing on the making of profit.

If safety was the first consideration of the companies, obviously the men who actually work the trains, viz., drivers and firemen, would be assured of a decent living so as to keep them fit for their perilous duties; also the machines they work would be kept thoroughly roadworthy and in the pink of condition. This, however, I know from experience with two of the leading companies in this country, is not the case.

The men are sadly overworked; their machines, many of them, are not properly roadworthy, and their wages, especially considering their responsibility, are low.

Before going any further it would, perhaps, be as well to look **What** into the conditions of service of **We Shall** the men, as these conditions have **See.** a direct bearing on the safety of the services. In doing this we shall have to start with the lad who, after passing a medical examination at the hands of the railway doctor, and an eyesight test at the hands of the Loco. Superintendent or his deputy, starts in the

service as an engine cleaner. This is the lad who will be a fireman at some future time, and then driver.

The safety question will not be greatly dealt with in looking at the conditions of the cleaner, for he is not yet "on the road." Nevertheless it is necessary, I think, to examine the conditions under which he works, if only to see what qualifications he has for taking up the duties of fireman when his turn comes. We shall see that no provision is made to properly teach him the various parts of his engine, and that his daily work becomes a bore to him through the speed up to which he is subjected.

On most of the trunk lines the lads start at 18 or older, so as to take their turn on night work. They begin by cleaning shunting engines, and are usually on for $10\frac{1}{4}$ working hours and start at 17s. a week as a rule. These engines are nearly always in a very bad condition, and the lads have to work hard—many such engines running a fortnight without having a "wiper" put on them.

About twelve months of this, and then comes the first promotion—to local passenger engines, which are kept almost as dirty. The lads as a rule get 2d. a day rise then, and work in gangs,

the work amounting to $1\frac{1}{2}$ engines **An** per man per night (very little or **Irishman's** no day work is the rule when on **Rise.** these engines), so that the cleaners are no better off for their extra

1s. a week.

The lads then get another "promotion," and go on tender engines. Further speeding-up is now resorted to by reducing the working hours to 9, in which time the lads have to clean the mammoth locomotives of to-day. A number of companies have the "contract" cleaner, who has always the same engine to clean. It is, however, impossible to clean the biggest modern engines in 9 hours—indeed, they would in some cases take nearer 20. So a great deal of the engine is "left."

The "contract" cleaner has no appointed time on duty. He has to vary with the "turn" of his engine, which means turning out at all hours of the day or night. A holiday is an unlooked for privilege, and even a day off in the summer is more than many dare ask for.

The man, having his regular engine, takes a pride in it, and would kick up a noise if he were barred going on his machine because it has only a "light" trip "on" it, which often is the case. It is a rule that if an engine looks anything like "respectable" it can "run round," thus overworking the cleaner by making him "tear off" two or three trips instead of one.

I may say here that the wages of these men are the highest paid for cleaning (the G.N.R. in London district formerly paid 5s. 10d. per day) but they are rapidly disappearing, and are now

almost a thing of the past.

The directors and shareholders demanding a greater return on their investments, expenses have to be cut down, regardless of safety or anything else. So a number of companies clean their engines by piece work, at dirt miserable rates, and the wages of and the man then depends upon how **Dividends.** (This system has recently been introduced on the G.N.R.) Another system extensively employed is to have the work done by day work by gauge, the men getting different engines daily. Under this method no pride can be taken by the cleaners in the machines.

Under both the last-mentioned systems the "contract" man is done away with because he is not cheap enough. Engines go out two, three, or four days without a clean, so it is impossible for a driver to make a minute inspection of the parts to see they are not broken. This, which is a very important matter affecting the "welfare of the public," and the fact that an engine may "run hot" and delay several trains, besides causing a great inconvenience on and off the shed, and a host of other things, are thrown to the winds in the interest of increased dividends. If a machine fails and the driver cannot give a "satisfactory" explanation to the Loco. Superintendent, he can be fined and thus help to swell the coffers of the human vampires that live upon him.

To sum up, the highest standing wage a cleaner can depend upon is in the neighbourhood of 19s. a week on the trunk lines, for which he puts in at least 54 hours. In the country the wages paid are much lower.

The state of the engines proves conclusively that there are not nearly enough men, and what men there are are immensely overworked, with plenty of dirt, night-work, inconvenience to self and family, bad smells on shed, and the lads often working feet deep in hot water. In addition there is a good deal of bullying from the foreman, who is generally a man who has failed on the footplate.

The average period a man does cleaning is about four years, and from the way he is overworked there is no chance for him to learn much about his engine. Nor is he given a rules-book in order to enable him to make himself acquainted with the rules of the road (the Midland does give rules books after six

A Premium months). There are, however, on "educational classes" on some companies (e.g., the G.N.R.), but **Ignorance.** they are not successful, and the attendance is small. The men have to attend in their own time, and with their state of over-work, and that great curse, overtime, it is not to be wondered at that very few attend the classes, the lecturers at which as a rule are drivers.

In working hours the lads are sent home or fined for trifling offences, and kept in abject slavery, so their mind is turned against their work. As a result of these conditions they can not take it up with the interest necessary to become good enginemen and to benefit them to be in charge of trains. It is, therefore, little wonder that, at the end of four years or so, when the lad goes up to "pass" for a spare fireman, he often fails in the exam.—which means more shed slavery, or, what is the rule on a number of lines, the sack.

Those who get through, however, owing to the unscientific way they are trained and the low wages paid, are not fit, from the point of view of public safety, to be in charge of an engine—which, by the way, is quite in accordance with the standing orders of capitalism and the production of profit.

“And the unscientific training of enginemen through their period as cleaners, is pretty well certain to last until the system that trains men for profit instead of for usefulness and safety is swept into oblivion.

J. SEVIER.

[To be Continued.]

THE FORUM.

—o—
“GAS AND WATER POLITICS.”
REPLY TO CLLR. SMITH.

MUNICIPAL administration is unattractive to the average man, mainly because of its limited scope and relative impotency. “Gas and water politics” is a contemptuous phrase, but it is not unmerited from the standpoint of the man in the tram. In the main, local council work is confined to the administration of the laws made by Parliament, while its expenditure is checked by the Local Government Board. The revolutionary Socialist (and no Socialist is otherwise) therefore realises that the success of a Socialist majority on a local council does not mean that the district in question can escape from its capitalist environment, or even that any fundamental change can be made in the lives of the workers. The central power must be held by the working class before local administration can be fully utilised in the workers’ interest, and even then it must first be transformed.

That being so, what is the use of Socialist municipal activity at all, one may ask. The answer is plain. It is just as useful as Parliamentary action so long as the workers’ party is in the minority. It is a necessary part of the workers’ task of taking possession of capitalist society for their own purpose. A Socialist minority in Parliament is a centre of revolt, a fighting vanguard, a focus of working-class enlightenment and organisation. The Socialist municipal minority or majority is not less than this. In Parliament the workers will wrest from the ruling class, during the fight for Socialism, every advantage obtainable, and in local administration they will use the limited local powers to the advantage of their class in the struggle, ignoring or smashing the municipal machinery where it does not lend itself to work useful to Socialism.

Every locality captured is a new centre of resistance to capital, a fresh corner of the territory wrested from the enemy. That the Socialist municipality will have a lively time goes without saying, but it will hardly be isolated. Socialism spreads in all districts, and the struggle will be going on centrally as well as in each industrial area.

Vital as it is to the Socialist to regard the whole question of political action from this revolutionary point of view, he is not blind to the fact that drains must be kept clear, the water supply maintained, and services necessary to the worker carried on, if only to enable the revolutionary struggle to continue. With the Socialist capture of a local council, moreover, despite the open war and attempts at suppression by the ruling class, something can be done to help the workers in their fight. The whole local administration will then cease to be bitterly anti-working class—and this means much.

Every item that can be turned to working class advantage will be used. Strikers will be helped. Strenuous efforts will be made to utilize education for Socialism, to raise the wages of municipal employees and shorten hours of labour; and ends there. A certain party in this country

while capitalists generally will be resisted in their repression of the proletariat.

Given the then almost inevitable ripeness of the working class in the whole country for the revolution, the attempts of the central power to stamp out the Socialist council will fan into flame the general revolt against capital, and will hasten the day of the complete control of society by the organised working class.

This being the case, it is easy to see that the Socialist is not vitally concerned with such questions as “Should we make a profit at all in municipal concerns?” and “If a neighbouring district wants gas from us, can we supply them at the same rate as our own consumers?”

These are queries sent to the SOCIALIST STANDARD by Councillor S. Smith, of Scunthorpe, in an evidently sincere desire to know the Socialist position.

Unlike Mr. Smith, we do not trouble about the rates, because we know that if by the profit on municipal trading rates were abolished, the landlords would reap the whole of the benefit. The question has already been dealt with. It is, indeed, a principle even of orthodox political economy that rates are a charge on rent. The price of housing accommodation to the consumer is made up of rent and rates. The higher the latter the less the consumer is prepared to give in rent, other things being equal. It is the landlord who ultimately is out of pocket by the rates—and well he knows it!

If it were necessary to answer questions which are based on complete divergence from Socialist views, it might be pointed out that all profit on municipal undertakings would be absorbed in attempting to pay decent wages to the workers engaged in them. But the working class cannot be recruited for Socialism on a program of milk and water. The strong meat of Socialism itself alone can tempt them to sink their petty private interests and unite with all their fellows on the broad class interest of proletarian emancipation. A diet of gas and water leaves them utterly unsatisfied. Nothing short of the prospect of obtaining collectively the whole fruit of their labour will ever unite them all, or be worth fighting for; and only in so far as municipal activity is a necessary incident in the great and conclusive struggle for Socialism will it be worth the attention of the organised working class at all.

W.

WHY WE MUST ORGANISE POLITICALLY AND INDUSTRIALLY.

M. GEESON (Toronto) writes:—

In reading the editorial of the S.S. for February 1913, I came across a statement which I would like you to explain a little fuller. The statement is this: “In regard to the revolutionary organisation the Socialist position is identical. That such an organisation will be called for as part of the organisation of the working class for the achievement of their emancipation must be admitted by every Socialist.” The question I would like to ask is, does not the political organisation exterminate the economic organisation, or vice versa, as the case may be, for one or the other must be incorrect for the emancipation of the working class, and if that is so a person accepting the double position must, consciously or unconsciously, deny the class struggle.”

It would have been much easier to deal with this matter had Mr. Geeson attempted to support his statements with arguments. As life is too short, and energy, at the present price of provisions, too valuable, to permit one or the other to be wasted in slogging at ideas which perhaps exist neither in Mr. Geeson’s mind nor in anybody else’s, the present penman is forced back on to the request for a fuller explanation.

The emancipation of the working class must not be conceived as a simple, single step to be taken either on the political or the industrial field. It is nothing of the kind. On the contrary it is to be a process, and an elaborate process at that, carried out upon both the political field and the industrial.

The process commences on the political field, and ends on the economic. That, at all events, is the Socialist position. The Anarchist position is that it commences on the economic field and ends there. A certain party in this country

(the S.L.P.) has taken up the position that it commences upon the economic field and ends on the political. It is left for Mr. Geeson, however, to complete the round in the implication that the process of emancipation begins and ends in the political arena.

Now the Socialist and the Anarchist argue that the end aimed at is economic transformation. The former says that, under present conditions, this transformation must be preceded by the capture of the machinery of Government, while the latter cries out upon political action. The S.L.P. man stands upon his head and does his thinking with his feet, for the implication of his position is that we must bring about Socialism in order to capture the political machine. But Mr. Geeson—ah! courtesy forbids.

The Anarchist thinks that the machinery of government is to be overthrown by merely ramming the people’s heads against it. They would oppose the rifle and bayonet, the prison and the hangman’s noose, with the petard that so often goes off in its master’s pocket, and the hunger-strike that so effectively prevents its devotees doing any mischief. Such people, logically enough, have no use for political action, and hence no use for a political organisation.

The Socialist, on the other hand, holds that the process of emancipation involves, first of all, the disarming of the master class. This must be the fruit of a political struggle, and therefore renders political organisation necessary at all events up to the time of its achievement.

But would Mr. Geeson have matters stop there? Does he think that the emancipation of the master class and the disarming of the working class is completed with the disarm-common ownership in the means of life? It is quite a while now since food came down from heaven. It is because we can only feed, clothe, and shelter ourselves through the means and instruments of production and distribution that we are going to so much trouble to obtain possession of these means and instruments. But they will no more operate themselves as the common property of society than they do as the private property of a class. On the contrary, their economical operation will, for obvious reasons, call for far more perfect organisation than exists to-day.

Such organisation is, of course, economic, not political. It is economic from the very nature of things—from the very fact that it is organisation on the economic field for an economic purpose. Whatever the organisation may call itself, or whatever its members may think themselves, directly it takes concerted action on the economic field, the action is necessarily economic action and the result of organised economic effort. Such action becomes imperative for the simple reason that when the political organisation has shot its bolt, or, if you like it better, when the revolutionary working-class organisation has shot its political bolt, it has not by any means emancipated the working class. It has only, by destroying the State, made it possible for the workers to complete their emancipation. This they must do by taking possession of the means by which alone they can live, and operating them intelligently and collectively so that they may live.

This, then, is what we mean when we say that the workers must organise both politically and economically. The emancipation of the working class necessitating organised action upon both the political and the economic plane, obviously necessitates both political and economic organisation.

A. E. J.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- “Weekly People” (New York).
- “Gaelic American” (New York).
- “British Columbia Federationist” (Vanc’ver).
- “Maoriland Worker” (New Zealand).
- “Civil Service Socialist” (London).
- “Freedom” (London).
- “Cotton’s Weekly” (Canada).
- “Appeal to Reason” (Kansas).
- “Industrial Union News” (Detroit).
- “The Socialist” (Melbourne).
- “The Call” (New York).
- “The Western Clarion” (Vancouver).
- “International News Letter” (Berlin).

HERE AND THERE.

THE Belgian national strike has passed away quite tamely. The strikers have had to accept something less—a good deal less—than the fulfilment of their demands. Like the trade unionists of this and every other country, their inability to hold out compels them to compromise. The Belgians, if they were affected with Syndicalism, did not act according to its tenet—that the working class can effect their emancipation by “economic action.” If they really possessed the Syndicalist faith they would not have taken action on the industrial field to make the political weapon or means more effective.

A significant factor of the movement is the assistance that has been given by the capitalist class: “The list of subscriptions being notable for the numerous amounts which are over a thousand francs.” Some Belgian workers may imagine they are participating in a revolutionary movement; it would, however, be nearer the truth to say that they are being used by the manufacturing and trading sections of the capitalist class for their purposes against the Catholic extreme right and the so-called reactionaries.

* * *

The Taxi-drivers claimed a complete victory in their recent fight with the owners, because their resistance for the time being achieved its immediate object. They resumed work in a triumphant frame of mind, claiming victory, notwithstanding that they had still to submit to the capitalist yoke. Apart, of course, from the fact that the struggle is necessary under present conditions, what is the real value of all such victories? A mere skirmish for a paltry concession won by a small section of the workers, and which must in the near future be fought over again. The class war continues, and the working class are bluffed and beaten all along its front, because they can see no other weapons than those of the industrial field. Encouraged and cajoled by labour leaders and capitalist politicians to concentrate their attention on trifling additions to their wages, which they only achieve occasionally; accepting the injunctions of the enemy as to how they shall fight the class war, they fall easy victims to the class whose very development has educated them in the game of smothering essentials by haggling over the trifling and petty details of their system. A system of society based on the class ownership of the means of life and the merchandise nature of labour power is a healthy, vigorous system, from the point of view of the capitalist economist, while such friction goes on—a system scarcely past its prime. That is why a paltry rise in the screw of some little section is referred to as a “practical advance”; an example for the rest of the working class to follow.

There is no difference or distinction between the German and the English labour leaders, except, perhaps, that the latter anticipate the needs of the ruling class by encouraging religious beliefs at P.S.A. meetings, and by striking off the demand for secular education from the T.U.C. annual farce.

* * *

According to Mr. Samuels the “Savings Bank indicates general national well being, the deposits amounting to five and a half millions.”

Spread over the whole working class this sum would give about 5s. 6d. per head—our share of the great boom in trade over and above the cost of living. Truly we have much to be thankful for, and if there were no Post Office to take charge of this enormous wealth, no dandies, soldiers, and police to protect our five and a tanner, what a temptation for burglars and foreigners!

* * *

Correspondents in the “Daily Citizen” have been warning the workers against raising their wages too high (would they possess the power to do so!) for, they inform us, such action only adds to the cost of production and so increases the cost of living. An increase in wages that never rise above the cost of living is the very last thing to influence prices. Instances which could be quoted to show the frequency with which prices have declined with rising wages show only too plainly that there are other factors responsible for the mercury-like fluctuations of the capitalist price list, that operate with astonishing rapidity, and submerge questions of wages as if their temporary fluctuations did not exist.

The capitalist himself stands in superstitious horror before these forces. As Mr. Balfour once said when discussing on the instability of prices: “There are these great oscillations in trade. We have always said, and said truly, that any variation in the price of living which could, by any conceivable possibility, follow upon the sort of duties contemplated by Tariff Reformers, would be lost, drowned, submerged—would altogether vanish in comparison with the national oscillations to which we are all accustomed and to which we all have to submit.”

The instance in question was recounted at a fashionable gathering of co-partnership apostles, at Lord and Lady Brassey’s, in Park Lane—a meeting arranged for the purpose of devising ways and means of sharing profits with the workers—something eminently desirable from the Park Lane point of view. One speaker said that he offered shares to his employees, one of whom took up a hundred. Next day in the workshop he remonstrated with a fellow workman for wasting the gas. The reply was: “Oh, there are too many blooming policemen about this business!” (just what we say) and the following day the whole of the employees struck work.

* * *

At this same fashionable mothers’ meeting

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

Sir William Lever pointed out that it was an essential of success that the profit to be divided must first be created by better working, greater saving of waste, and increased output. But what a generous and philanthropic arrangement for the workers! They increase their exertions until the foreman or manager comes to the conclusion that some of them are not wanted. The wages of the latter are then shared, the shareholders and managers, of course, getting the lion’s share, while those who are squeezed out ask plaintively: “What are you going to do with us?”

It is very poor consolation to these that their fellow workers, who are sharing a fraction of what they once received as wages, will the sooner come to grief on the industrial scrap-heap, because of their increased exertions and the excessive competition that co-partnership sets up.

* * *

The Taxi-drivers claimed a complete victory in their recent fight with the owners, because their resistance for the time being achieved its immediate object. They resumed work in a triumphant frame of mind, claiming victory, notwithstanding that they had still to submit to the capitalist yoke. Apart, of course, from the fact that the struggle is necessary under present conditions, what is the real value of all such victories? A mere skirmish for a paltry concession won by a small section of the workers, and which must in the near future be fought over again. The class war continues, and the working class are bluffed and beaten all along its front, because they can see no other weapons than those of the industrial field. Encouraged and cajoled by labour leaders and capitalist politicians to concentrate their attention on trifling additions to their wages, which they only achieve occasionally; accepting the injunctions of the enemy as to how they shall fight the class war, they fall easy victims to the class whose very development has educated them in the game of smothering essentials by haggling over the trifling and petty details of their system. A system of society based on the class ownership of the means of life and the merchandise nature of labour power is a healthy, vigorous system, from the point of view of the capitalist economist, while such friction goes on—a system scarcely past its prime. That is why a paltry rise in the screw of some little section is referred to as a “practical advance”; an example for the rest of the working class to follow.

Capitalists and their agents will only encourage the workers in action that does not threaten their supremacy—for while they have that they know their profits are secure.

* * *

Correspondents in the “Daily Citizen” have been warning the workers against raising their wages too high (would they possess the power to do so!) for, they inform us, such action only adds to the cost of production and so increases the cost of living. An increase in wages that never rise above the cost of living is the very last thing to influence prices. Instances which could be quoted to show the frequency with which prices have declined with rising wages show only too plainly that there are other factors responsible for the mercury-like fluctuations of the capitalist price list, that operate with astonishing rapidity, and submerge questions of wages as if their temporary fluctuations did not exist.

The condition which Mr. Hunter takes for his standard of poverty he defines as the lack of those necessities sufficient to maintain a state of physical efficiency.

The real remedy for the poverty of the workers amidst the luxury of the idle is not shown, and the preventive measures advocated by our author are worthy of the most zealous supporter of the present system.

Sanitary laws and shorter hours for women and children. Laws to make industry pay the necessary and legitimate cost of producing and maintaining efficient labourers. Compensation and Insurance Acts and Anti-immigration laws. In short, all those measures which are in operation in many lands, where they dismally fail to improve the workers’ conditions. Our author shrinks from the true position, viz., that as the poverty of the working class is due to robbery the remedy is to stop the robbers by ousting them, first from political, and then from economic power.

der to pass over the capitalist price list? The introduction of labour-saving machinery or methods that eliminate so much of the labour that was previously necessary in the production of a commodity will, of course, bring about a rapid fall in price.

If gold is produced with a less expenditure of labour power, its value falls in comparison with other commodities, and the latter, as measured by a fixed amount of gold, shrink in quantity in comparison.

Here are two factors which are constantly at work upsetting and rearranging prices.

Agreements and monopolies are responsible for the temporary holding up, or even raising of prices, but such operations receive far more attention than they deserve, largely because of the opposition of small traders. Trusts and combines have never sustained prices for long above the cost of production. The most effective, and at the same time the most uncertain and spasmodic of all the forces that play “Aunt Sally” with prices is supply and demand. The workers themselves know this quite well from their experience of their own particular commodity—labour power. For they seldom try to force up their price on a declining market. The demand for the goods which they are engaged in producing is then already attracting capital, the effect of which will be increased production. Supply treads on the heels of demand, and the owners of capital, totally unable to regulate their own enterprise, flood the market till prices fall. That is why prices, instead of rising after a rise in wages, so frequently take the opposite course.

F. F.

WHERE ROCKEFELLER RULES.

“POVERTY,” by ROBERT HUNTER. London: The Macmillan Co. 2s. net. This is a cheap reprint of a work that originally appeared in 1904 in America. It is written by a member of that body of reformers known as the Socialist Party of America. The author defines the main object of the volume as an estimate of the extent of poverty in the United States of America, and a description of “some of its evils.”

A further object of the book, we are told, is to point out certain remedial actions which society may wisely prosecute.

To one who is familiar with the investigations in this country of Mr. Charles Booth, Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, and Dr. H. H. Mann, the method of this work is certainly disappointing. As the author himself admits: “The poor of the rural districts have hardly been mentioned and the working woman and the mother are left almost entirely out of consideration.”

Little information, if any, can be gleaned beyond that already to be obtained in the works of Jacob A. Riis and Mrs. Van Vorst, etc.

The estimate given by the author of this book on poverty in America is sufficient to show of how little use the work is to the serious student. “I have not the slightest doubt,” he says, “that there are in the United States ten millions in precisely these conditions of poverty, but I am largely guessing at it, and there may be as many as fifteen or twenty millions.”

The condition which

PATRIOTISM OR PLUNDER?
THE SIGNIFICANCE OF "EMPIRE DAY."

At the time of writing these lines preparations are being made to observe in a fitting manner, what has now come to be regarded as a fixed institution, viz., Empire Day. Each successive year sees an endeavour made to stimulate and extend the sentiment of "patriotism." School children are paraded round the village, waving flags and singing patriotic airs under the direction of an enthusiastic teacher. Afterwards they are marshalled in front of the school, where they are treated to a speech on their "Responsibility, Duty, and Self-sacrifice." After giving vent to their feelings in three cheers for "The Empire" and singing "God Save the King," they are marched into the school to the strains of "Soldiers of the Queen," and their receptive minds are stupefied with stories of the valour of Nelson, Drake, and other butchers.

The churches are also to the front on this occasion. On the Sunday following May 24th special sermons are preached emphasising the importance of allowing themselves to be chloroformed for the national good. Advantage is taken by scaremongers and jingo politicians to point out the necessity for compulsory military service, and the need for supporting rifle clubs, and such institutions as the Boy Scouts, the Territorials, the National Service League, etc. The "Big Navy" party take pains not to let the occasion pass without trotting out once more the old cry of "adequate defence" so dear to the heart of Hyndman & Co.

It is safe to say that not one person in a thousand of those who are compelled to participate in these displays realises the significance underlying this noisy "appeal to patriotism." They are requested to believe that it is for the honour and integrity of our glorious empire, OUR Empire! Let us see how much of the Empire is ours.

In the first place every schoolboy knows that before one country can assume control over another it must have recourse to force or threats, the people of the country which is to be brought under control must be subjugated and a footing established.

Various reasons are put forward from time to time to show the necessity for such steps being taken, but the ultimate analysis shows that in every case the fundamental and determining factor is economic advantage, or, to put it another way, plunder.

As almost every nation is engaged in the race for economic advantages, it resolves itself into a sort of running fight, in which the weaker succumb to the strongest. England herself has annexed nearly a third of the earth and is still unsatisfied. Her "greatness" lies, not in that she stands for "Justice, good government, and liberty," as Lord Rosebery would say, but in the fact that, up to now, she has been the biggest plunderer.

Her "interests," and the machinery necessary for maintaining the same, are not operated for the benefit of her people, as is claimed, but only for the benefit of a small section of her people—the capitalists. Hence the need for armies, navies, and other murderous institutions, to guarantee the security of that class, and incidentally to capture more plunder whenever the opportunity presents itself.

It cannot be said that we have done badly, for in whichever direction we turn we are sure to let on a piece of "our" Empire.

It is an old saying that trade follows the flag, but what follows trade? Ask the people of the different nations that comprise "our Empire." You will find the same conditions obtaining there as here—that is, poverty, misery, degradation, and all the other evils which follow in the wake of capitalism. Who among us has not felt his blood surge when reading of "our" conquests in various parts of the world? Take, for instance, the occupation of India—that vast land of untold wealth (and poverty) which the native is debarred from developing only in the interests of the "Great White Raj," otherwise the capitalist class. Are we to suppose that India was acquired solely for the purpose of doing good to the "poor benighted heathen"? At least this is the impression they gave us at school. Was it in their interests the Govern-

ment paid four million pounds to the Khedive of Egypt for his shares in the Suez Canal in order to obtain complete control of the highway to India? Not much!

Ever since the occupancy of India advantage has been taken of the diversity of the races to set race against race, creed against creed, caste against caste in order to preserve the security of the invaders. It was this circumstance which was in great part responsible for the historic Mutiny, the suppression of which involved such fiendishly horrible cruelty as to hardly bear relation.

What applies to India applies also to every other land where the British have asserted themselves.

Since New Zealand was "purchased" from the chiefs the Maoris have become practically extinct through the introduction of war, liquor, and other vices which follow close upon the heels of "civilisation."

The same country is at the present time in a state of serbian anxiety, the colonists being faced with the same problems of capitalism as confound the people here.

It is the same with Australia, where wild endeavour is being made to exclude the coloured races and to establish a "White Australia"—which policy has the support of the imperialistic "Labour" Party at present in power. This position stands some chance of success, since it has been discovered that white labour is more productive than coloured, hence the profits resulting from the exploitation of the former are greater.

The acquisition of Hongkong was due to the resistance of the Chinese to the introduction of opium by the British, who forced them at the cannon's mouth to accept it. Only recently a cargo worth some six millions was dumped at Shanghai. The Chinese refused it, so the British gunboat "Flora" was sent to overawe them into submission.

British interests in China, as elsewhere, are wholly commercial, though very often the Christianising of the natives is put forward as an excuse for meddling.

The conversion of China into a republic has somewhat upset Britain's calculations, for now it may mean that the United States and Germany will stand a better chance of a look into English capitalists' detriment. Their commercial interests are threatened, and the opening of the Panama Canal will not add to their peace of mind.

The alacrity with which the Churches responded to the Chinese politicians' appeal for prayers on behalf of the new republic only recently, gave the game away entirely. Their predatory instincts are once more aroused, and their strong point is to get a foothold in China ahead of the other European nations, especially as that country may yet become a formidable competitor in the Eastern markets.

I point out these things to show that it is solely the material interests of the ruling class that produce wars and other international troubles—that all the piffle about the "glory of our world Empire," and our "mission of justice and mercy" is only so much bunkum, intended to deceive the mass of the people who comprise "our" Empire—that it is in reality only part of the unscrupulous tactics adopted by those thievish swindlers of every nationality who are running alone! Why is this?

It is simply because a handful of privileged pirates are allowed to own all the wealth which we produce. This is the "Secret of England's Greatness"! It is for this we are asked to cultivate a feeling of "patriotic responsibility," and later on to "take up the defence of"!

What do you think about it? Do you think it is for us this "great and glorious" Empire is being run? Do you think it is on our account that the squabbles in Parliament take place? Do you honestly believe that any party represented in Parliament to-day can legislate in our favour whilst all the time they are sucking our very life's blood and exploiting us for all they are worth? Do not be led astray.

If an end is to be put to this rotten system it must be by the efforts of the workers themselves. This effort can only be exerted by a revolutionary organisation, conscious of its class mission. This organisation is already in existence in the Socialist Party of Great Britain. It is the only Socialist party in this country, and

be summed up in one word—plunder.

Knowing that the workers are not yet wise enough to see through their game, the capitalists are prepared to go to any length to prevent their enlightenment.

Thus it is we have members of the master class financing such things as rifle corps, Boy Scouts, and other potential warriors. The Boy Scouts in particular demand special mention as being looked upon as a great national asset, whose "usefulness," both at home and abroad, will some day be apparent.

King Edward VII shortly before his death sent a message to a big review of scouts in which he said: "Tell the boys that the King takes great interest in them; and tell them also that if he calls upon them later in life to take up the defence of their country, the patriotic responsibility and discipline they are now acquiring as boys, will enable them to do their duty as men, should any danger threaten the Empire."

Plain, isn't it?

We find that by fostering a feeling of animosity against the people of other nations, our rulers succeed in keeping the workers divided, and increased security in their tenure of existence is secured. It is significant to note how in this they receive the blessing of the Church. To the student of history this is not surprising, for the Church throughout history has stood for militarism and slavery.

Patriotism, then, means simply the acquisition of power for the maintenance and conquest of markets in the interests of the ruling class. Capital being international, and not troubled by any sort of sentiment, it follows that it will make its way wherever its operations are likely to be successful. Consequently its owners are patriotic or anti-patriotic according as their interests are affected.

Only a few weeks ago an order for the construction of four British steamers, amounting to half a million sterling was placed in France. The reason given for sending the order abroad was that the cost would be less than if the vessels were built in this country. Material interests first—patriotism nowhere!

British interests in China, as elsewhere, are

wholly commercial, though very often the Christianising of the natives is put forward as an

excuse for meddling.

The conversion of China into a republic has somewhat upset Britain's calculations, for now it may mean that the United States and Germany will stand a better chance of a look into English capitalists' detriment. Their commercial interests are threatened, and the opening of the Panama Canal will not add to their peace of mind.

The alacrity with which the Churches responded to the Chinese politicians' appeal for prayers on behalf of the new republic only recently, gave the game away entirely. Their predatory instincts are once more aroused, and their strong point is to get a foothold in China ahead of the other European nations, especially as that country may yet become a formidable competitor in the Eastern markets.

We also find the income of the rich has increased by millions, whilst a million married women are compelled out of sheer necessity to work in the factories and shops.

No wonder that paupers have increased by 70,000 since 1900, and lunatics by 20,000, despite the "benefits" of the Old Age Pensions Act and the like!

Was it a feeling of patriotism that prompted 290,000 workers with their families to depart from these shores last year? They tell us there is no room for them in this country, yet some millions of acres are set apart for deer shooting alone! Why is this?

It is simply because a handful of privileged pirates are allowed to own all the wealth which we produce. This is the "Secret of England's Greatness"! It is for this we are asked to cultivate a feeling of "patriotic responsibility," and later on to "take up the defence of"!

What do you think about it? Do you think it is for us this "great and glorious" Empire is being run? Do you think it is on our account that the squabbles in Parliament take place? Do you honestly believe that any party represented in Parliament to-day can legislate in our favour whilst all the time they are sucking our very life's blood and exploiting us for all they are worth? Do not be led astray.

If an end is to be put to this rotten system it must be by the efforts of the workers themselves. This effort can only be exerted by a revolutionary organisation, conscious of its class mission. This organisation is already in existence in the Socialist Party of Great Britain. It is the only Socialist party in this country, and

the institution known as "Empire Day." It can

June, 1913.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

only by enrolling yourselves in this party can the abolition of the present system of robbery and corruption be made certain.

It was the end of this that the terrified Lord Rosebery foresaw when he wailed: "Socialism means the end of Empire" a few years ago. *And Lord Rosebery was right for once!*

TOM SALA.

THE EFFECT OF REFORM.

The revolutionary has shown that the present system of society is utterly incapable of fulfilling the proper function of a social system, i.e., the satisfying of the needs of the community. In effect that has been admitted by reformers of every school. The very need for reform shows the existence of evil, and no agitation would or could find any support were all well with the community.

The reformer does not understand that the social evils cannot be removed while the cause—private ownership in the means of living—is permitted to remain. The cause of the evils cannot be touched by the measures they advocate, however earnest and sincere the advocates may be; and no reform has yet been proposed that can be shown to effectively deal with the "problems" of poverty and unemployment.

The basic laws of capitalist society, being in harmony with private ownership of the tools of production, operate against such interference, and to push up the price of labour-power would simply, on the one hand lead to greater intensification of labour, and on the hand to the restriction of production, and, by throwing a number out of employment, bring down wages to or below the previous level. Competition regulates prices, and the price of labour power is subject to the same influences as any other commodity that the labourer produces.

The competition between the workers for jobs—the fight of each to sell his labour power—must of necessity keep down wages to the lowest possible point. Not that that point can be fixed at will by the capitalist—or the worker. It fluctuates, but only above or below a given level, that level being determined by the cost of production of labour-power under the conditions, climatic or otherwise, of the time and place of production. That standard of subsistence is by no means stationary: it will rise and fall at the dictates of the system. The higher the intensification of labour, the greater the speed at which the labourer is called upon to produce, the higher will be the cost of his subsistence.

This standard, however, is not altered by the wishes of the people, either workers or owners. Wages can, and do, rise higher than the level of subsistence, just as they can, and do, fall below the level of physical efficiency. It can be readily understood that the efficiency of labour-power cannot be maintained for any length of time unless the wages given are sufficient to sustain the labourer, and with the modern intensification of labour the tendency is to increase the efficiency of the worker, not to reduce it.

Individual employers within the system may bring extra surplus for a time by so-called sweating, and it is to guard against this "unfair competition" that Trade Boards are established and Minimum Wage Bills agitated for. The tendency is to increase the rate of wages and to introduce speedier methods of production and a greater intensity of exploitation.

This, however, but increases unemployment, which is advantageous to the buyers of labour-power, since it is only by the existence of a reserve army of labour that they can keep wages down to the level of efficiency demanded. No other means can compel the workman to work faster and ever faster as the machines are running.

Consider for a moment what would happen were the ideal of the reformer realised. No unemployed, hungry slaves clamouring for a job at almost any figure would mean that the employed workers would refuse to accept the miserable pittance they now receive and would force the employers to raise wages until production for profit was impossible. Capitalism would then collapse, and even though the workers were unable to take over the control of affairs the masters would no longer be able to manage production; for willing wage slaves are essential to the capitalist system. But the ideal is not practicable. It presupposes the impossible and absurd.

The increasing speed and consequent exhaustion compel the introduction of the shorter working-day. Many of the employees object to

its introduction, and affirm that their wages are lower as a consequence; but the capitalists profit by it, because in the reduced time as much or more wealth is produced, and with the two-shift, or even a three-shift, system, greater profits are obtained.

The forward march of the capitalist system is toward cheap production, and no human action can stay it. Economy of production can only be obtained at the expense of the workers, as it is only by cutting the wages bill that the capitalist can economise. The present system, based as it is upon the private ownership of the tools of production, is the system of those private owners, and the better and more smoothly it runs the better it is for them.

How can reform increase the toilers' share of the product? The general level of wages is determined by the cost of the production of labour-power. Can any reform alter the cost of production? And if it could would that benefit the producer? In the United States wages rule higher than in England, and the cost of subsistence is higher also. But is the worker of U.S.A. the better off for that? He receives more money and pays more for food, clothing, and shelter, and in the end finds himself with just sufficient to buy food, clothing and shelter for himself and a family—sufficient, in short, to keep himself in a fit condition to continue production for the master class. Here, then, the reformer can do nothing.

We saw, however, that wages could rise and fall. Can reforms, then, force wages above the general level or prevent them falling below it? Let us see.

If the supply of any article approximates to the demand it will exchange on the market at its value. To increase its price one must stop or check the supply of similar goods or increase the demand for them. Now the worker has his commodity, labour-power, to sell upon the open market, and the supply of labour-power is greater than the demand for it.

This is undoubtedly so, anti-Socialists notwithstanding. Flower orators may tell us of the enormous increase in wealth production necessitating an increase in the number of employed. After-dinner speeches may contain references to great employers of labour searching the country for "hands." But the average worker knows that no sooner does he leave his job than another comes forward to take it, and the reports of the Labour Exchanges give the lie to the assertion that there is a real scarcity of labour.

The question of the moment is, then, can the supply of labour-power be restricted?

The Trade Union movement has attempted to bring about such a restriction and has信号 failed to do so. It has attempted to keep the unemployed off the market by raising a fund for the purpose of providing them with food, clothing, and shelter. But the army of out-of-work has grown too great for them to maintain, and the capitalists have simply used the union funds to maintain the surplus workers in a certain state of efficiency. To-day even that is insufficient, and the State has taken over the matter by subsidising the unions and other organisations for the purpose of keeping a supply of labour-power ready for any demand of capitalist production. The Trade Unions have never been able to prevent the unemployed from acting as a drag upon wages, and of recent years, in this connection, it has simply provided a sum from the pockets of the workers to prevent the revolt of the hungry, and save the extra charge that would otherwise have fallen upon the capitalist in the form of rates.

This, however, but increases unemployment, which is advantageous to the buyers of labour-power, since it is only by the existence of a reserve army of labour that they can keep wages down to the level of efficiency demanded. No other means can compel the workman to work faster and ever faster as the machines are running.

It is the existence of the unemployed at the factory gate that compels the workers to toil at lowest wages and under conditions they would not otherwise submit to. It is the fear of being supplanted that forces them to tolerate the insults and degrading treatment of bullying foremen for a mere living.

The increasing speed and consequent exhaustion compel the introduction of the shorter working-day. Many of the employees object to

oppose reform? The Socialist is necessarily opposed to the advocacy of reform as it is inadequate for his purpose. Reforms, in the main, do not even palliate, and those that do are used by the capitalist class in their own interest, and are introduced because the stage to which capitalism has advanced demands the change.

The battle (often a sham one) over any particular measure is at the most but a quarrel between two sections of the master class whose interests will be bound up in the abolition or the continuation of some antiquated methods for the abandonment of which the agitation is raised. That various changes are necessary, and that some of them are held back by vested interests we recognise; but if benefits are to be obtained from capitalism, a very different attitude to that of the present-day reformer must be taken, and our best advantage will be gained by constant opposition to the masters and a growing demand for revolution.

That some reform agitation may hasten the changes rendered necessary by the rapid development of the system and held back by the parsimony and mulish obstinacy of those in power is all that can be said for the movement for reform within capitalism. But nothing could be obtained by such a movement that could not be as easily achieved by the Socialist Party. If such work, however, is to stand in the way of the presentation of the Socialist case, and is injurious in the slightest degree to the growth of the Socialist idea, then such a movement must be opposed, though the realization of its object may be shown to be inevitable and desirous.

While recognising the ruthless onward march of capitalist development it must not be forgotten that society is composed of human beings, and that the fear instilled into the minds of the masters will have some effect in lessening the oppression and hastening the coming revolution. The master class fear no reform, but the fear they have for revolution can only be compared to the hatred and contempt that they feel for their willing wage slaves. We cannot play upon their pity or reach their hearts by tales of woe and misery, and such is the stock-in-trade of the reformer.

He who would hoist the revolutionary banner should know the strength of economic laws and the comparative weakness of the human will, and should underrate neither. Above all, he must set himself the task of fighting the representatives of capitalism, for until the contempt they feel for the workers is displaced by the fear of the growing revolutionary army will the capitalists even consider their wage-slaves to be bought but parts of a profit-earning machine.

TWELVE

T. WATSON Wood Green.—Certainly there is no potential capitalist class. Any individual, however, who is on the high road to becoming a capitalist is a potential capitalist in one sense of the word. If you use the word potential in the sense of latent or "existing in possibility, not in act," how would a dead man fill the bill, or a capitalist baby "just born or just due"? Happy to try again if this does not suit.

R.T. (Picton, New Zealand).—Your question shall be answered in the next issue. We are pressed for space this month.

SOCIALISM
versus
TARIFF REFORM.
BEING A REPORT OF
<b

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JUNE.
(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	1st	8th.	15th.	22nd.	29th.
Battersea, S.E. Pk. Gates " Prince's Head	11.30 C. Biggett	J. G. Stone	S. Blake	A. Barker	A. Gatter
Clapham Common	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	C. Elliott	A. Bays	J. E. Roe	A. Kohn
Edmonton Green	3.30 J. Fitzgerald	T. W. Allen	A. Bays	F. J. Rourke	A. Kohn
Finsbury Park	7.30 A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson	J. Myles	A. Anderson	C. Elliott
Forest Gate, (Station)	3.30 A. Anderson	A. Bays	J. G. Stone	A. Hoskyns	J. Fitzgerald
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 A. W. Pearson	A. Timms	A. Jacobs	C. Parker	B. Young
Ilford (station)	7.30 J. G. Stone	A. Kohn	A. Anderson	J. Le Carre	A. Bays
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 C. Parker	J. Brown	C. Gatter	H. King	A. Jacobs
Parliament Hill "	7.30 J. Myles	C. Baggett	H. King	A. L. Cox	A. Anderson
Peckham Triangle	11.30 S. Blake	J. Roe	A. Timms	W. Lewington	A. Pearson
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 T. W. Allen	A. Kohn	S. Blake	C. Baggett	J. Roe
Watford, Eddy Rd., Duley	12.0 H. King	A. Anderson	C. Elliott	A. Gatter	S. Blake
Tooting Broadway	11.30 C. Elliott	T. W. Allen	B. Young	J. Roe	C. Baggett
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	11.30 A. W. Pearson	F. W. Stearn	A. Bays	A. Timms	A. Kohn
Walham Green Church	7.30 A. Jacobs	J. Fitzgerald	A. Hoskyns	J. Myles	J. Myles
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	7.30 J. Roe	C. Gatter	C. Elliott	F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson
Woodgrn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 B. Young	H. King	A. Kohn	B. Young	F. J. Rourke
Watford Market Place	7.30 A. Anderson	A. Timms	W. Lewington	S. Blake	F. Stearn
	7.30 C. Elliott	F. J. Rourke	A. Hoskyns	A. Jacobs	J. Ward

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cr. 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earl's-fld., 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Mossbury Rd., Lavender Hill, 8.**FRIDAYS.**—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princess Head, 8 p.m. North Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8 p.m.**SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.**

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.**BEDFORD.**—All communications to R. T. Freeman 38 Britania-rd.**CENTRAL.**—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.**EAST HAM.**—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.**EDMONTON.**—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.**FULHAM.**—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.**GRAVESEND.**—Communications to Secretary, care of 21, Milton-rd., Gravesend.**ILFORD.**—Communications to Sec., 119 Second Ave., Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sun. at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.**ISLINGTON.**—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N. where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.**MANCHESTER.**—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, Manchester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Fridays at 8. Public invited.**MARYLEBONE.**—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.**NOTTINGHAM.**—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Thurs. at 8, at 24 Middle Furlong-rd.**PADDINGTON.**—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portman-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., at 8 p.m. at 81, Harrow Road, W. (side door).**PECKHAM.**—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's-rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.**—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.**STOKE NEWINGTON.**—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons 8.15 at 10a. Farleigh-rd.**TOOTING.**—C. Elliott, Sec., 4 Denison-rd., Merton, S.W. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).**TOTTENHAM.**—G. P. Summer, Sec., 45 Gloucester Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.**WALTHAMSTOW.**—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badis road, Branch meets Mondays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.**WATFORD.**—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road, Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

Printed by A. JACOBS, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain
HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

THAT in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

THAT this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

THAT as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

THAT this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

THAT as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

THAT as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fifth Edition with preface.

Explains the Party's position toward the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

Post free 1½d. per copy from the S.P.G.B. 193, Grays Inn-road, London, W.C.

ART LABOUR, AND SOCIALISM
By WILLIAM MORRIS.
Post Free - - - - 1½d.SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC,
By F. ENGELS.
Price 6d. Post Free 7d.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

ARE HELD

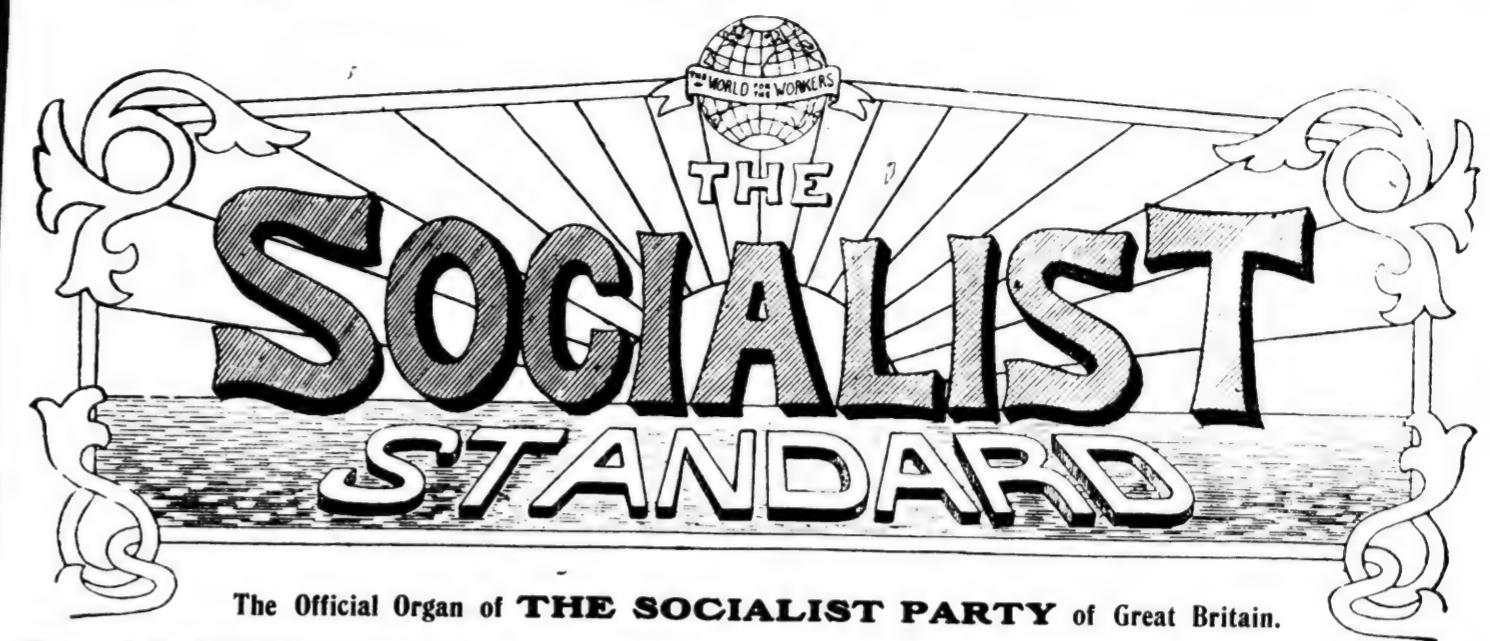
EVERY SUNDAY as under:
MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.
OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT

7.30 p.m.

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth.

3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. - - 5/6 post free.
SINGLE YEAR VOL. - - 3/- " "



The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

No. 107. VOL. 9.]

LONDON, JULY 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

HOW WE ARE TO BE SAVED BY SYNDICALISM.

"SYNDICALISM AND THE CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH," by Emile Pataud and Emile Pouget. Cloth 3s. 6d., paper 2s. 6d., net. Oxford: The New International Publishing Co., Park End St.

In more senses than one Syndicalism is "in the air." "Philosophers" like Sorel have written its metaphysics; "intellectuals" like Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb have discussed its Godfathers; penny-a-liners like Ramsay Galore, McDonald and Philip Snowden have described it.

But none of these can be said to be active participants in the movement; hence the need for a description, or explanation, or exposition, from some one inside its ranks. This book should fill the want.

The authors are well known officials of trade unions or syndicates, extensively advertised as leaders of Syndicalism, and have taken part in various French strikes.

A foreword of whole-hearted adulation is written by Mr. Tom Mann, some illustrations are provided by W. Dyson, a preface of partial praise is contributed by Prince Kropotkin. And it is published at Oxford. Here, then, is a combination that should provide us with a full and connected description of the vague and varying notions grouped under the term Syndicalism.

The book is cast in the form of a retrospect, being, supposedly, a description of the Revolution written some time after the event.

The reader may imagine that the revolution predicted by the syndicalists will take place by the whole of the workers joining one union and then demanding the surrender of the capitalist class; or that it will be brought about by a few determined individuals indulging in desperate acts of violence and so destroying the power and position of the master class.

But you will have been mistaken, for the Revolution is going to be brought about without any special premeditation or arrangement, or even organisation for the purpose. This may seem somewhat startling, but our authors explain it with remarkable ease and simplicity.

The Revolution begins with a strike of building operatives over hours and wages. This looks somewhat prosaic and even commonplace. Ah! that is because you have not yet realised what marvellous changes will take place when the "revolutionary spirit" gets abroad.

At first the men on strike have no intention or idea of abolishing capitalism. A riot occurred in which some workers were shot. Strikes were being called in various parts of the country when this happened, and it "precipitated a revolutionary situation." (Page 9.)

The workers began to visit the scene of the murder, and to hold meetings; the trade unions discussed the situation, and the anti-militarists debated their course of action. Their object was

to protest, by a suspension of work, against the Government's action in shooting the workers, and to obtain some redress. The strike spread. The gasworkers came out; the electricians left the plants; the railway workers, many of whom were willing to do so, could not work because the machinery had been damaged beyond temporary repair; the bakers not only struck, but spoiled the ovens so as to prevent blacklegs working them.

With bewildering rapidity section after section were won over to the side of the "revolutionists," or were persuaded not to help the enemy. Being in the minority, the "revolutionists" were bound to consider the keeping of the majority away from the masters' side, and they were successful. In the country the peasants were won over by "a peasant syndicalism of a rather special type" (p. 141) and expropriated the landowners and took possession of the soil.

Some of the capitalist class fled the country, some were killed in the riots that occurred, and some joined the workers. Those that were left were ordered to emigrate when the workers won, but "no violence was used against them."

The reader may ask: "If all these workers were out on strike and so many means of production rendered useless, how

"Pleasures" did the working class live of the during this period?"

Imagination. It is here the genius of the Syndicalists was shown. First the great co-operative stores shared out their provisions; then the stocks in the merchants' warehouses were distributed; lastly the workers returned to work at those plants where the employers agreed that the food produced should first be given to the strikers, and the surplus could be sold by the masters to the rich at an enhanced price. For the goods supplied to the workers they received notes on the Labour Exchange.

"What," you will demand, "were the Government doing?" Why, the Government were almost paralysed by the onward rush of the working class.

"But surely the army existed?" you ask. Certainly. No one recognises the importance of the Army more than the Syndicalists. "They knew that a revolution had never been successful with the Army against it" (p. 69). They redoubled their anti-militarist propaganda. The Government not only received numerous demands for troops to protect works and property, but also endeavoured to run many of the more important services. These took a large number of men, and even then were not a great success.

In the case of the supply of electricity they were so clumsy at the work that they broke several of the machines and had to close down the plant. So many soldiers were used for this purpose

that the large centralised stores of food were left almost unprotected, as were also the huge arsenals, like Vincennes! True, as our author says, "it was not with cannon that the working class has opened fire on the wealthy classes. It is by act at once formidable and simple—by folding their arms." (Page 52.) And what could be easier than this? But it

Catching Weasels was not all. Often anti-militarists

Asleep at Chateau-d'Eau were set on fire, after the water had been cut off, and the arsenal at Vincennes was taken and the arms distributed among the strikers.

When the Government tried to keep up communications (which had been cut off by the striking of the railwaymen and telegraph and telephone operatives) by means of motors driven by soldiers, warnings to drive slowly were erected at certain points, delaying progress, and often the motors, in charge of armed soldiers, were stopped by unarmed strikers, and confiscated.

Historical precedents are found for many of the actions in the French Revolution of 1793, though one incident has to look further back in history for its analogy. The strikers had erected a workshop "situated on a height and hidden from observation" (p. 46) which was used as a wireless station telegraph for the purpose of disturbing and confusing the wireless messages of the Government. The reader will remember the well-known biblical precedent for this.

And when the battle was won—what then? Better than ever. Recognising the terrible evils of Parliamentarism, politics and centralisation, the Syndicalists wipe these things out of existence.

"But how are disputes and differences as to matters of administration settled?" it may be asked. Quite simply. The matter is discussed, and after various debates agreement is reached by the various sections agreeing.

Production and distribution are carried on by autonomous groups without centralisation. Even the railways and Post Office are run by autonomous groups. There is a "Trade Union Congress," with delegates from all trades and professions, in which "all the sub-divisions, all the classifications which Parliamentarism had engendered, belonged to another age."

But here were workers, **Very** and **having to decide on Kindly Oblige**, points previously discussed by the comrades who had sent them there." (Page 129. The Italics are mine.)

"As soon as the Congress was over the Central Committee, which consisted of delegates from the Trade Federations and the Labour Ex-

changes, began its work. This work was not direction, but condensation and analysis: it drew up statistics as to the indispensable minimum of production and consumption, and it served as a bond of union between all the groups. It was like the centre of a vast telephone network to which there arrived, and from which there came, the information which secured the regulation of the social working, the maintaining everywhere of an equilibrium, "in order that there should not be excess at one point whilst there was scarcity at another." (Page 137.)

Very much, this, like strong centralisation with a bureaucracy at the top, you may fancy. That would only show you have not imbibed the "revolutionary spirit," else you would see at once that it is "Federalism."

Such foreign supplies as were needed were obtained from the capitalist countries abroad by paying a higher price, and greed for gain outwitted foreign Governments.

Still these Governments, whose working class had not yet accepted Syndicalist and anti-militarist ideas in sufficient numbers to revolt, were not going to stand by quietly. Moreover, the capitalist refugees were urging them to crush the revolutionaries.

What could the latter do?

They called a general Congress of all the Unions, and delegates were chosen from all branches of human activities. These delegates were all "capable of discussing and deciding on questions affecting their general interests." (Page 197. Italics mine.) No stupid referendums or voting here by the people, but decision by the delegates.

Despising a regular army, special committees of men with technical skill were set up. "The greatest freedom of choice was "left to them, and the Congress approved the means to which they intended to have recourse, the facts of which they explained." (Page 197.)

One of the committees utilized the Hertzian waves, which, properly directed, would explode arsenals on land and magazines on ships, from a distance. Another committee concerned itself with preparing to inoculate the invading armies with plague, cholera, typhus, etc., while they guarded themselves from infection with "preventive and curative serums."

Such powerful measures simply demolished the enemy like smoke before a gale, and the war ended in a few days.

Of course, the foreign governments knew of these means and how to use them, but refused to adopt them because "they meant to keep, even on the field of battle, the outward show of civilisation"—hence their defeat. What would have happened had they decided to use these means, with their much vaster resources, it were idle to speculate, seeing that they missed their opportunity.

Peace reigned now throughout the world, as the working class of other nations, profiting by such a splendid example, also established operative commonwealths in the various lands.

Here, then, is the easy, quick, and effective road to Freedom. No stupid organisation, no absurd rules or regulations, no steady propaganda to help bring about the mental revolution (which even Kropotkin, in his preface, warns the authors is so necessary), no need to estimate what your enemies will do, or how far they will go in resisting the Social Revolution—a resistance that Kropotkin says the authors have considerably underestimated.

All that is required is some spasmodic anti-militarist propaganda accompanied by some subtle education in sabotage, some gathering of a determined minority in trade unions; then the working class, at present so firmly wedded to capitalist notions, so ready to follow the lead of the masters' agents, who think they must vote for some candidate or they will be "wasting their votes," and who imagine Tweedledum is slightly better than Tweedledee, will change their leaders, and, throwing over politics, will follow those who will arrange production without organisation, carry on war without army or navy, control the country without politics or votes, because assisted by the "plasticity of the multitude" (p. 227) and the "revolutionary spirit, they will always know, *a priori*, the right thing to do at any moment.

J. FITZGERALD.

SOCIALISM TO-DAY.

AMONG the subjects that attract the wavering attention of the people to-day, Socialism holds a steady and prominent place. Scarcely a newspaper appears without a longer or shorter reference to the "menace of Socialism." The ignorant and superstitious capitalist sees in every strike and industrial dispute, fresh evidence of general working class discontent, and like the dwellers at the base of some volcanic mountain, they often speculate on the time that will elapse before the rumblings will materialise into a general eruption.

For many years after the Paris Commune revolution seemed imminent to the French capitalists. A Government that had been actually deposed by the working class could be thrown down again, and the knowledge of this compelled the legislative assembly to devote the greater portion of its time to repressive measures and secret actions against the revolutionaries. They dreaded a renewal of hostilities, and their fear became apparent from their panicky expedients in the endeavour to avoid a repetition of their previous humiliation.

Every capitalist Government is compelled to take into consideration the revolutionary forces in its particular area. They know little or nothing as to the extent of such forces. They only know that revolution is logical, that there is no reason why the working class should not act logically, except their want of knowledge. The Socialist Party, concerned only with spreading that knowledge, can well afford to laugh at their feeble efforts to shirk the real issue and spread confusion.

Because sooner or later, out of the chaos of lies and misrepresentation, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, will emerge triumphant.

Confusion is undoubtedly the strongest weapon in the capitalist armoury. The fraudulent Labour Party, without a single measure on their programme that can benefit or interest the working class, lends itself to Tory and Liberal politicians as a Socialist chopping block. Sentimental curates and sleek, over-fed bishops, gather around them little cliques of working men, impress upon them that brotherhood only is Socialism, and, living on the Cross, they exhort allegiance to the Cross, and denounce the class war at the same time as they point to the hatred that capitalism and unrestrained competition breeds.

The sanctimonious cocoa Press lectures the workers on efficiency, and warns them of the "tempestuous dangers of gross materialism." For Liberalism, they say, is a faith, and its exponents are slowly, but surely, grappling with the evils that afflict society. "The civilising and humanising influence of men like Lloyd George and Asquith," we are told, is the true Socialism. Socialism has, in fact, become so popular that Anti-Vivisectionists have been known to claim from the platform that they are the real Socialists!

To the ignorant capitalist every manifestation of discontent on the part of the workers is Socialism—the inflowing tide that shall ultimately overwhelm and submerge them. To the Socialist such manifestations are but the interaction, the play of forces inherent in the system, which is safe while they function.

The friction between capitalist and worker is the old conflict of interests between buyer and seller—which conflict cannot end while both sides accept the status imposed on them by the system. On the part of the capitalist there can be no desire to relinquish his position as buyer of labour power, because if he does not buy he does not exploit. The worker, on the other hand, even if he knows surplus value to be the product of labour, is forced to sell in order to live.

The alternative to a system wherein labour-power is merchandise to a huckstering merchant class, wherein the working class is exploited like arable land is a system in which the people will own the wealth they produce. This they can only do when they own the means whereby that wealth is produced.

"There is no industry in this country in which these rebels have not sown the seeds of hatred and discontent; there is hardly a town where, every day, specious lies, perverted facts, and false figures are not presented to the people by Socialist and Syndicalist orators.

The time is short, the *danger urgent*. . . . I ask you to read the enclosed report and in this time of grave peril, to send us a generous contribution."

In the "Fortnightly Review" for May, the Rev. Vravy Morgan, D.D., writing on "The Character and Genius of Mr. Lloyd George," says: "He has stemmed the tide of Socialism by the adoption of a philosophy of politics lying midway between Socialism and individualism."

The above gentleman, however, was forestalled by the Marconi Messiah himself, for he already had this estimate of himself during his bogus campaign, when he said:—

"If the party system were destroyed the class line must become the line of demarcation, and we should be reduced to the evil position in which foreign countries with democratic Governments found themselves, and from which they were struggling to rise. . . . Is it not a real advantage to the country that there should be two great parties, each capable in turn of providing responsible administrations for the service of the Crown? How much better our system of government has worked upon this balance than in those countries where there is a permanent governing class, with all those interests of wealth and privilege massed around them, keeping the rest of their fellow-countrymen inullen subjection by force of arms. That is the position in more than one European country to-day—a powerful imperialist and military combination holding all the power of confronting a vast Socialist party utterly estranged from the fundamental institution of the State."

Even the Carnegie peace advocates endeavour to strike terror by the cry of "revolution." Another writer in the "Fortnightly Review," Sir Max Waechter, D.L.F.P., flattering Lord Rosebery by imitating him, says:—

"No one can foresee the end of it all, but it is to be feared that a crisis is at hand. Unless this mad increase of armaments is checked in time the military and naval competition among the powers must end in the impoverishment and bankruptcy of all Europe, or in the greatest war the world has ever seen, or in a great revolution, for the masses may at last rise in despair in order to shake off their crushing burdens."

At least the capitalist newspapers with enormous circulations, have quite recently been so much impressed by the progress of Socialist propaganda that they have deemed it necessary to devote a large portion of their space to calumny and misrepresentation. We may question their wisdom in attempting to rise to the occasion; it is difficult to ignore an enemy who is making steady progress, but Socialism thrives equally well, whether opposed or disregarded by the ruling class.

The Anti-Socialist Union at their out door meetings excite far more antagonism than sympathy, while the Socialist Party's experience is that those who attend their meetings exhibit an intelligent desire to discuss and understand the economic and social problems we place before them.

To the ignorant capitalist every manifestation of discontent on the part of the workers is Socialism—the inflowing tide that shall ultimately overwhelm and submerge them. To the Socialist such manifestations are but the interaction, the play of forces inherent in the system, which is safe while they function.

The friction between capitalist and worker is the old conflict of interests between buyer and seller—which conflict cannot end while both sides accept the status imposed on them by the system. On the part of the capitalist there can be no desire to relinquish his position as buyer of labour power, because if he does not buy he does not exploit. The worker, on the other hand, even if he knows surplus value to be the product of labour, is forced to sell in order to live.

The alternative to a system wherein labour-power is merchandise to a huckstering merchant class, wherein the working class is exploited like arable land is a system in which the people will own the wealth they produce. This they can only do when they own the means whereby that wealth is produced.

Having already co-operative production, co-operative ownership and democratic control has to supplant private or class ownership and control. When that has been effected a revolution will have taken place and society will have changed its form. The fundamental principles

July, 1913.

July, 1913.

that form the basis of capitalist society, and mark it off as a system distinct from those that have preceded it, will have disappeared. As to-day there are no feudal barons who war with each other and levy tribute and labour from helpless serfs bound to the soil, so under Socialism the relation between capitalist and wage slave will have disappeared, because no individual or class can own wealth and use it to buy labour power for the purpose of exploitation.

To the working class, whose one desire must be to retain the fruits of their labour, such a revolution is eminently desirable. Its realisation is therefore only a question of knowledge. Recognition of the class struggle is the consciousness of the social organism of the need for a readjustment of social relationships. The organism that does not respond to the dictum is doomed to atrophy and extinction.

For races live and grow just as their individual members do. In certain parts of the Western Hemisphere there is evidence of systems of intensive cultivation of the soil that proves, beyond doubt, that they have in some by gone age, been peopled far more densely than our Western civilisation; but these races have long since disappeared. Every race and every species tends to increase its numbers until the rate of mortality overtakes the rate of fertility. In other words, races come into existence, rise to maturity, and then decay, exactly as their individual members do. The race, no less than the individual, has to adapt itself to its surroundings, or decay takes place more rapidly.

To day the human race is living out of conformity with its environment. The operation of social forces has separated society into two classes, with different modes of living and a different outlook on the world. The dominant class has thrown off all pretence of function and has become solely parasitic, a cancerous growth in the body of the social organism. Its presence is detrimental to the race. The only useful class is robbed of the results of its labour; the wealth goes to feed the cancer, the useless class. Increasing powers of production, instead of giving the workers leisure and opportunities for self-development, only increase their sufferings and intensify their labour. The result of longer hours, of technical education and training, is only so much more food for society's malignant growth, so much more wealth for the capitalist class, from which to hire the forces that overawe the workers and keep them in subjection.

The very existence of such forces, when capital has become international, reveals their purpose to the workers, whose every effort on the industrial field is thwarted by them. Antagonism that only shows itself on the industrial field sectionally and spasmodically, stands out as class antagonism when the armed forces are used against all sections of the workers in turn. The political machine then becomes a challenge to the workers; it stands out as the symbol of capital, the nucleus of the capitalist State. Its control means power.

The working class have nearly exhausted the long chapter of blunders that characterised their history during the nineteenth century—machine smashing, Chartism, Liberal-Labour representation, etc. They must either begin over again or make a serious study of their real position and find that control of the political machine is within their reach and is the first step that must be taken towards freedom.

The growing antagonism of interests between the workers and the capitalist class, and the greater frequency with which the armed forces are used against them, emphasise the need for the capture of the political machine. Just when conditions are intensified and discontent has become more general, class antagonism as a direct result becomes more apparent, and the logic of the Socialist position becomes irresistible.

F. F.

Socialism will utilise the wasted social forces. A million idle or unproductive capitalists, a million unemployed, half a million soldiers, sailors, policemen, and jailors, the pick and flower of the manhood of the country, hundreds of thousands of flunkies, clerks, ticket-collectors, inspectors, bill posters, distributors, agents, canvassers, and so on, will be set to useful production, to add to the common wealth and increase the common leisure. Think it over!

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

THE FORUM.

WHY THE WORKING-CLASS REVOLUTION CANNOT BE COMPROMISED.

R. TUNE (New Zealand) propounds the following question:—

Since all previous revolutions have ended in compromises, what guarantee is there that the Socialist Revolution will not also end in a compromise?

Without entering into a discussion upon the assertion contained in the first portion of Mr. Tune's question, it may be pointed out that the two sets of conditions appertaining to the revolutions of the past and the revolution to come are entirely different.

Since the first revolution social systems have been based upon private property and have been class systems. No revolution of the past (I use the term revolution as meaning something very different to revolt) has ever demanded the abolition of the private property basis of society or the abolition of classes. The revolution toward which Socialists have set their faces must abolish both these (they hang together, of course) and it is for this reason, directly or indirectly, that there can be no compromise about the Socialist revolution.

When the rising capitalist class were struggling for their emancipation, emancipation did not mean the same thing for them that it does for the working class to-day. They were not by any means enslaved, much as they suffered from vexatious restrictions. Their emancipation meant simply freedom from these restrictions. They wanted an environment which would permit of their development. They wanted the removal of legal restrictions on the one hand, and the divorcement of the workers from the soil on the other. Their victory, in spite of the so-called compromise, was complete, inasmuch as it gave them the conditions under which they could advance. The feudal class became, indeed, the most powerful agent in the expropriation of the peasants, driving them from their lands and seizing them for themselves.

In such circumstances, the interests of both classes were in accord at one point. Both desired to see the peasants expropriated. One had need of their labour-power, and the other coveted their lands. Hence having obtained all the essentials of their development, the rising capitalist class found compromise the line of least resistance, and acted accordingly. They haven't done badly on it.

The situation is entirely different with regard to the Socialist Revolution. There can be no emancipation of the working class except by the abolition of the whole institution of private property in the means of living. Compromise is impossible because only the whole can give the workers anything. They can get nothing until they have intelligence enough to realise that there is no half way house, and when they realise that they will act accordingly.

Compromise came easy to the capitalist class because it met their needs. It was obviously impossible for production for use under feudal conditions to give place at once to production for sale under capitalist conditions. Such a change had necessarily to wait upon the development of the means and methods of production, and was a comparatively slow process. A compromise, therefore, conceding the essentials for the free development of the new system, was sufficient for the day. The feudal class could be left with many of their privileges without appreciably affecting the manufacturing class, and indeed, the former became absorbed in the capitalist class finally.

The change from production for sale to production for use is not, however, a simple reversal of the former process. It is not a retracing of steps but a marching on. It is a return to the production of use-values, but under conditions which prevent such return taking place piece meal. The advance from capitalist production to production for use does not, as did the reverse process, necessarily have to wait for great development of the means of production. These means have developed already, and the changed

incentive or object of production does not call for any change of methods. Capitalist development had to proceed through centralisation, division of labour, improvement of means, discipline and training of a class of workers, and the slow growth of the demand for commodities in a world where most people produced all or practically all their requirements. Capitalism required a loosening of feudal bonds in order that this development might go on, and this loosening is spoken of as a compromise. But to day all the essentials for production for use have been developed. Machinery has been sufficiently perfected, labour has been sufficiently sub-divided, the workers have been trained and disciplined, the original organisers have been rendered superfluous and organisation placed in working-class hands.

More than this, the whole world has been so brought into the domain of capitalism, so knit and welded into the very flesh and bone and tissue of the prevailing system, that it is a solid whole, wherein it is impossible for any civilised community, scarcely possible even for a civilised individual, to escape from the bonds and laws of its being. Utopians have tried, individually and collectively, and have failed. They have tried, in communities on various bases, to reduce their needs to what they can produce themselves and so re-create for themselves the environment of production for use, and their ghastly failure stands as a warning, like an old gallows by the roadside, that laws are not to be lightly flouted. They found the shackles of the system pressing upon them everywhere, and proved for all time that capitalism must fall as a whole when it does fall, and that, notwithstanding the example of previous revolutions, the Socialist Revolution must usher in a complete system, unhampered by the grave-clothes of the present system as a compromise.

Compromise is quite understandable between feudal superiors who held one of the main means of living—the land—and the rising class of merchants and manufacturers who held the other chief means of living—the instruments of labour. Between them existed all the conditions of possible unity as an exploiting class. This unity has since been achieved, thus justifying the compromise. But that was only because the feudal system and the capitalist system were successive steps in exploitation. Production for sale and for profit could develop to a considerable extent under feudalism—indeed, it necessarily had to do so. Hence capitalism could develop under a compromise with feudalism. But there can be no merging of capitalism and working-class interests. From feudalism to capitalism called for no change of ownership as regards the feudal rulers and the capitalists—it was a change of method of production. From capitalism to Socialism, on the other hand, calls for no change of method of production, but for a change of ownership. That this is so voids every possibility of compromise. The capitalists must be owners or not. Expropriated or not. There can be no half-way house.

There is no analogy between the two cases. The true analogy is to be found between the expropriation of the peasant proprietors by the combined forces of the feudal aristocracy and the capitalist class, and the future expropriation of the present possessing class by the workers. As all know who have read the history of that monument of human bestiality, there was no question of compromise in the former case; there can be none either in the latter.

A. E. J.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).
- "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
- "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
- "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
- "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
- "The Call" (New York).
- "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
- "International News Letter" (Berlin).

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 103 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. The SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free ...	1s. 6d.
Six " " "	9d.

The Socialist Standard,



TUESDAY, JULY 1, 1913.

LEICESTER AND THE LABOUR PARTY.

DURING the past week we have heard much talk in our masters' papers of the bye-election which, at the time of writing, will take place shortly at Leicester. Columns of matter have been specially written and printed in the "Daily Chronicle" and the "Daily News," pointing out that there is "no official Labour candidate," and advising the working men in the constituency to vote for the Liberal candidate. As recently as Sunday, June 22, "Reynold's" drew their readers' attention to the fact that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald holds his seat by an arrangement with the Liberal Party: "The second Liberal nominee, Sir Israel Hart, retired, and so gave a clear run to the present leader of the Parliamentary Labour Party." Such is the *independence* of the Labour Party!

The following from the "Daily News and Leader" (26.6.13) is exquisitely rich: "The action of the Leicester Labour Party is regarded as such a grave violation of national party discipline, and such a graceless disregard of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's position as will inevitably lead to a considerable disruption of the Labour Party forces, and must compel Mr. Macdonald to sever his connection with Leicester. . . . Other constituencies are open to him."

Of course, seeing that Mr. Macdonald is a good Liberal, the Liberal Party would undoubtedly be prepared to run him, either as a Liberal, or as a Liberal candidate.

The discontent at Leicester is a welcome sign. The workers are at last *beginning* to see the fraud and hypocrisy of the "official" Labour Party. Possibly they desire to know how Mr. Macdonald is voicing the claims of labour while he is shooting tigers in India. Perhaps they have been reading of the support he gave to the Sir John Brunner Education (amendment) Bill. And further, to come to more recent events, may be they wonder what that other member of the Labour Party, Mr. Parker (who sat on the Marconi Committee and proved by his actions that there is no difference between the so-called Labour Party and the Liberals) is doing in the interest of the workers.

Seven years have rolled by since the great "Labour" triumph, and notwithstanding the fact that the labour movement has had about forty of its members in the House of Commons, what have they done? They have shouted about Insurance and Minimum Wages, but after all have they done anything to bring greater security to the wage-slave? No!

Fellow workers, the only remedy for your precarious and poverty-stricken condition is to be found in intelligent recognition of your class position. You must recognise that you are mere cogs in the industrial machine—that you are permitted to work only so long as there is profit to be derived from your labour. You must understand what you want and how to get it, then there will be no room for Labour "leaders." You would not need to be led, and you could not be misled. You must organise them inside the Socialist Party, and work consciously for that revolution which will replace poverty and misery with their fortunes founded on our sisters' shame.

for those who do the world's work with plenty for all.

THE CHURCH AND THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC.

The snuffing humbug of the Churches have been busy offering cynical "good wishes" to the International Congress for the Suppression of the White Slave Traffic which has recently met at Carlton Hall, London. Anglican, Catholic, Nonconformist, and Jewish, they have all lipped their annual contribution of lies to the sickening catatonia. The dignitaries of all the Churches regularly mouth this cant about the "cruel" being "the knight errant of the twentieth century," and about the "serried ranks of qualified and capable persons determined to put it" (the White Slave Traffic) "down." There is no need to offer them the jibe that it is on "sin" that they bathe, and not on "virtue." That fact has been rendered patent by their skulking conduct in face of what they know to be a growing evil.

If the White Slave Traffic were not a growing evil it is not at all likely that the master class would spend time, money, and energy in pretending—for it is only pretence—to put it down. We do not say that they would not wipe it off the face of the earth to-morrow if it were an evil that could be obliterated without pulling something else down with it, for the White Slave Traffic is of little more use to the capitalists at large than it is to the workers.

But they know, these sanctimonious churchmen and high born dames, in spite of their calculated efforts to draw a line between the two, that the White Slave Traffic and prostitution are inseparable.

The Countess of Aberdeen admitted this when she spoke of "poverty and want and low wages" as the causes "which were driving girl victims into the hands of the procurer."

For this does not mean that these girls are trapped, and decoyed, but that they are forced by the pressure of their economic wants; it does not mean that White Slavery is something different from and apart from prostitution, and which therefore can be separately attacked and eradicated, but that it forms the most convenient entrance to that life of shame into which "poverty and want and low wages" drive girl victims with or without the aid of the procurer.

This, of course, puts an entirely different complexion on the matter. It explains why, of all those sleek and well-fed priests of every denomination, every one of whom knew as well as the Countess of Aberdeen that it is "poverty and want and low wages" . . . which were driving girl victims into the hands of the procurer, not one dared to declare that the true procurers are those who impose the poverty and want, the true criminals those who pay the low wages.

It was not to be expected that any of the trained sycophants should have been so indiscreet as to have given vent to this home truth. The cur doesn't bite the hand that feeds it. No pillar of the Church is there in all this Christian land but lives on these poor girls' shame, for they are paid to keep silent, or to confuse and perplex with cunning tongues as occasion may demand. And if hard facts had tongues, some poor girl victim might cry out from every mouthful of bread these fat and cosy preachers eat:

"This is my body!" and from every cup they raise to their lips: "This is my blood." The princely salaries which are paid to these holy men are nothing but their price for keeping their mouths shut concerning these things, their bribe for lying confusion concerning the social sorrows which arise from capitalist domination. One need not wonder that they often complain that the pay is insufficient for the job!

We solemnly declare that prostitution is a pillar of capitalist society, and that these churchmen, these delegates from all ends of the earth assembled, these spokesmen and spokeswomen of the "voluntary societies" of the rich, know it.

We solemnly declare that the shame of the White Slave Traffic rests finally on the anointed heads of kings, the surpliced shoulders of bishops, the jewelled brows of countesses, the opulent founders of Vigilance Associations, the sanctimonious "knight-errants" of "womanhood, ignorant, misled, decoyed." For all these have their fortunes founded on our sisters' shame.

SYNDICALIST FOOLERY.

A PERIODICAL of the March April issue of the "Syndicalist" gives one the impression that the I.S.E.L. have only one member in whom they can place confidence as a speaker. Seven lectures are reported, and one Bowman would have "scooped the pool" had not his indisposition allowed a lesser light a look in. The following extracts from these reports show that Mr. Bowman is confident that he has only to repeat his stock phrases a sufficient number of times to prove them. At Worthing, for instance, he began by emphasising the futility of Parliamentary action.

When we are told that "Syndicalists always like to take the line of least resistance, even when it leads to no where" (vide "Syndicalist"), we can but admire the way in which the lecturer sticks to this policy, by emphasising rather than giving proof.

At Bromley Mr. Bowman's remarks regarding sabotage, the report tells us, "caused great amusement." At Clapham, where he excelled himself, he "was there to show them how those that produced the wealth of the country should own it, not to put before them a remedy for social ills." I do not need to comment.

The only attempt to give any reason why Parliamentary action will fail to emancipate the workers is the statement that "the sending of men to a middle class environment (House of Commons) will so put them out of contact with the workers as to cause them not to represent the workers at all!" Beautiful, isn't it? And yet all these lectures have been given in the rooms of, and under the auspices of, the I.L.P., B.S.P., and Trades and Labour councils.

"Much of the dissension among the Socialists," the "Syndicalist" says, "is due to members of the capitalist class being admitted to their ranks." But according to the Constitution recently agreed upon by the I.S.E.L., they will admit any who accept the Object, Preamble, and Constitution of the muddled medley, "no matter what view may be held by that person regarding politics." We should be the last to urge them against such suicidal tendencies.

Here is a sample of unrestrained drivelling emanating from that pillar of Syndicalism, Mr. D. Armstrong, to wit: "The Social-Democrats, including the S.P.G.B., are not revolutionary. They want to retain government. Their path leads to State ownership." Our critic is not the only person who has been guilty of criticising us from a public platform before being able to distinguish between the S.P.G.B. and the Fabian Society. However, our Manifesto is well worth a penny to those possessed of the necessary intelligence to digest its contents.

To sum up the case for the Direct Actionist, it appears that the working class cannot effect their emancipation by capturing the political machine and the forces under its control, because that happens to be the very instrument which alone keeps them in subjection. And they tell us also that politics is the masters' game.

But surely no reasonable person would train the proletarians to fight at the barricades when a single warship in the Thames could easily account for, not only the barricades, but the whole of London.

Nevertheless, there may be something to be said for the suggestion that, in the event of the fight going against them, the workers, as a last resort, would take up their positions at the windows of the mills and factories, and, in concert, with one great voice as it were, sing the "Internationale," to see what effect it would have on the soldiers.

This would, indeed, be taking the line of least resistance, and leading to nowhere into the bar-

gain; for, of course, lest the soldiers failed to perceive how sternly and correctly revolutionary was their attitude, they would perform this heroic operatic feat with folded arms.

The present writer, however, who has read

something of the history of the bloody annihi-

lation of the Communards of Paris by the master

class in 1871, and is well aware that the butchery

waxed most furious when the workers' weapons

were laid down, and their arms folded, takes the

liberty of doubting the efficacy of this method of

stemming the tide of working-class misfortune if the fight should go against them.

July, 1913.

He would very much rather, before he per-

mitted the "revolutionary spirit" to lead him

into any such enterprise, feel this his class had

control of the army through Parliament. B

increase of disease directly traceable to poverty

and industrial conditions, stand out forcibly as

a separate indictment of the system.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

being the capitalist class, of whom the Eighty Club are fairly representative.

But why call it a sacrifice? When a company lays down new plant they do so in the expectation that the cost of production will be reduced, and the increased profits that result more than compensate for such expenditure.

There can be no sacrifice where greater robbery is the intention. Their system means exploitation intensified. Intensive cultivation of the brain and sinew of the workers. The more scientific exploitation grows, the more completely are the working class enslaved and robbed. Science, when applied to any productive process, increases the results; when the supply of labour-power is scientifically regulated the results are increased wealth for the class that have ordered the step to be taken.

But the Minister for Education is on the horns of a dilemma. The capitalist wants educated workers but objects to paying. He cannot make the worker pay because his wages barely cover the cost of living. Consequently the Minister in charge of education is compelled to economise.

He restricts elementary education; as the President of the N.U.T. said at the conference of that body, children are ricocheted from class to class in order to economise space. A competitive system is set up for the purpose of obtaining students for secondary education, thus dividing the children before they actually leave school into two grades—those who will become so-called brain-workers and those who are destined for "manual" labour. The very thing that the astute politician would deprecate because the bulk of the workers become fixed for life in their manual occupations, with ever dwindling opportunities of advancement. The good jobs become the subject of competition for the majority of the workers—to bring up healthy families is doomed to failure. Only weaklings can result from such wages and conditions.

This conclusion is amply borne out by the report of Mr. Pease, President of the Board of Education, in his survey of national education. Eighty-eight per cent. of the children attending elementary schools suffer from serious defects or complaints. Nearly 90 per cent. of working-class children are physically handicapped in the struggle for existence before they leave school.

A few days before Mr. Pease made his report the need for re-organisation, especially on the physical side, was emphasised by Lord Crewe. "Looking at the question from the most callous point of view," he said (as though the capitalists of to-day were not the same in spirit as the factory ghouls of 1860, or could be anything else than "business-like"—a polite synonym for callous and brutal), "what a bad bargain we are making in allowing children not properly furnished physically to attend schools which are set up at great expense to the country. Such children are not being trained into useful citizens and useful industrial machines."

"What a bad bargain," says the capitalist representative. Wrapped up in his own little system, with no ideas outside of profit and loss, price lists, percentages, and stocks and shares, that portion of rates and taxes that goes to education is to him a collective investment in flesh and blood.

Labour is cheap to day; by means of a small collective expenditure its productivity can be increased, when it will be cheaper still. Healthy workers must be happier than unhealthy ones, is the moral justification. But this is only incidental—it is not the object. Health is only to be considered because it means increased profits.

The lace trade was not alone, for according to the reports of factory inspectors, these were the normal conditions of factory workers when this excessive exploitation reached the point where regulation of some sort became absolutely necessary.

All this matters nothing to the capitalist or his representative. They do not take into consideration the effect of their measures on the working class as a whole. They are merely concerned with the provision of an adequate supply of human energy to enable them to compete successfully in the markets of the world.

As the Lord Chancellor told the Eighty Club, when speaking of the new system of education:

"The new organisation of society, of industry, and of finance, is pressing us into competition with other nations such as we have never known anything like an even distribution of these before, and if we have to compete and get profits, knowledge and skill and science must be far more diffused than at the present time. And what concerns me is that foreign nations are making this very advance in a way which seems to be a considerable menace to us."

After thus emphasising their need for re-organisation his lordship commented on the cost, and pointed to the need for a "great sacrifice on the part of the nation"—the nation, of course,

being the capitalist class, of whom the Eighty Club are fairly representative.

F. F.

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

THANKS TO THE ENEMY.

The following is taken from the report in the "Daily Telegraph" (2.5.13.) of Mr. Walter Long's address to the Primrose League. "It was as much to-day a fact as it ever was in the history of our country that some must lead and others must follow, and the leadership naturally fell into the hands of those who had leisure and opportunity to consider for themselves what were the problems of the day, and to offer wise advice to those who did not enjoy the same privileges." In other words, according to this one-time president of the Anti-Socialist Union, the parasite alone is competent to advise his victim. Take that "wise advice and all will be well—with the parasite, of course. One is glad to learn that for this and other jokes Mr. Long was awarded the fifth grade of the Grand Star.

* * *

In their appeals for patriotism our masters do not usually tell us point blank that the country is theirs, not ours. The most hypocritical, however, sometimes make mistakes, and if the Bishop of Peterborough let the cat out of the bag when speaking recently on patriotism, it must be remembered that he is more used to dispensing that other chloroform, religion.

The bishop, who was preaching as Chaplain of the Royal Society of St. George, finished by asking for generous help for the Royal Naval Ports Church Building Fund. According to the "Daily Telegraph" report (21.4.13.) the preacher "stated that the object of the fund was to provide sufficient churches in Plymouth and Devonport, Portsmouth, and Chatham for the men working in our naval dockyards, and for their wives and families. . . . During the last generation the population of the four towns mentioned had increased by 200,000. The nation had collected these masses to do the nation's work; they laboured that our land might be spared the horrors of invasion. We were their debtors in temporal things, and we were called upon to aid them in spiritual things." [The italics are not the bishop's.]

Precisely, and, in case there should be any doubt as to who "we" are, it may be mentioned that when "we" assisted at the annual dinner held at the Hotel Cecil in connection with this Royal Society of St. George, it was in the company of Lord Willoughby de Broke, the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Desborough, and about three hundred others of those who make up the "nation."

"We are their debtors in temporal things." Decidedly unfortunate, this statement, for it expresses only too obviously the position, not alone of the dockyard workers, but of the working class as a whole, who produce the wealth which is appropriated by the master class.

* * *

Much difficulty is experienced in getting clerks and some other proletarians to recognise that their *real* status in society is the same as that of those other wage workers who produce the means of existence for society as a whole. The lower-paid members, especially, of this pen-pushing brigade become quite indignant when classed as wage-slaves.

This makes one regret that the following should have appeared in the "Daily Telegraph" (24.4.13.) rather than in one of those journals which, by reason of their cheapness and other attractions, are more popular among these self-styled "middle-class" persons.

The clerk or shopman may at twenty years of age receive 30s. a week and feel well off, but at forty, when he has a family, he finds that his income of 50s. or 60s. is no longer sufficient to meet his expenses, and with no prospect of promotion—for he seldom qualifies himself for the better paid positions—he feels the younger generation treading on his heels, waiting to step into his place. Tied hand and foot by his responsibilities, tied by his education to the one kind of unskilled labour, he is no more free than a slave, for to lose his post is starvation or the workhouse."

* * *

Judge Hill Kelly refused, at Abegavenny County Court, to order a payment to Henry

Miles of £50, being one-half of compensation money paid into court by the man's employer in respect of an accident. The man said he wanted to provide a home, as he was going to get married, whereas the judge said it was criminal for a man in Miles's position to waste £50 in furnishing. He ordered £20 to be paid out as quite sufficient." "Lloyd's Newspaper," 22.6.13.

Another example, you see, of the reckless extravagance indulged in by the workers when they get half a chance. One dreads to think what they would do were it not for the restraining influence of their "betters"—and of their poverty.

In the capitalist Press one constantly finds articles showing how to live on meals costing on the average about 3d. each, and lamenting the extravagance of the workers. If, however, the latter regard these jokes as being in bad taste one cannot wonder. But £50 to provide a home! Is it not possible that a proletarian who would spend £50 for such a purpose would be quite prepared, given the opportunity, to live in an inhabitable house? The growth of such notions must be checked. They constitute one, among many, of the incentives to a study of the robbery process involved in capitalist production. As such they may be made use of by the advocates of Socialism. And hasn't that humorous platinian, Lord Raspberry, told us that this would mean the end of all things and the beginning of something else?

This marriage difficulty reminds one of another beautiful example of bourgeois morality, which came to light recently when the "Daily Telegraph" published the following under the title of "A Marriage Problem":

"A singular predicament, which was solved in a singular way, faced the Morpeth Board of Guardians yesterday regarding the appointment of a porter and a cook. A married couple were required, but the feeling of the meeting was that the posts should be given to Mr. W. J. Bentham, South Shields, and Miss Annie Slater, London, both of whom are single. The marriage question was the only obstacle, and eventually the Guardians decided to offer the positions to Mr. Bentham and Miss Slater, on condition that they became husband and wife before taking up their duties. They have a month yet in which to take or reject this step."

A wonderfully fine solution, certainly, and one that could have occurred only to those thoroughly imbued with the ideas of the bourgeoisie. Among the latter it is natural enough that the amount of property possessed by the contracting parties should be the important consideration when a (regular) marriage is to be arranged, due weight being given, of course, to the possession of titles. What these Guardians of the Poor RATE seem to have overlooked, however, is that among the propertied quite other ideas may obtain with regard to this subject of marriage—ideas which differ from those of the master class just because they are born of a different set of conditions. These "Guardians," at all events, will do their share to oppose that horror "free love." They are in a position to say: "Away with your proletarian notions of marriage. Adopt our suggestion or seek a livelihood elsewhere!" And they show us here that they intend to make no bones about saying it.

And now may I point out how, after all, the person who scornfully rejects the idea that "a marriage is a civil contract between two parties" appears to be right on some occasions, for it seems that where a Board of Guardians finds its interests touched, a marriage may be a civil contract between three parties.

A. C. A.

THE LONDON SOCIETY
OF COMPOSITORS
AND THE
"SOCIALIST STANDARD."

—o—
An article dealing with the L.S.C. and its attack upon the "Socialist Standard" will appear in our August issue.

PUBLIC SAFETY
VERSUS
RAILWAY PROFITS.

[CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.]

II.—THE FIREMAN.

We will now look into the conditions of the spare firemen and firemen of the trunk lines, and in doing so we shall be concerned with men that are actually working the trains.

The spare fireman is a man that has been "passed" to act as a fireman when needed, but who is not always engaged in firing. When he is not doing so he is booked "shed duty as required," and as often as not goes back to cleaning or other shed work. We can briefly pass him by, because when firing he is under the conditions of a regular fireman.

His working hours are ten without a break, as a rule, and his pay is anything from 3s. to 4s. a day when employed firing. But he must exceed five hours in order to get this. When on "shed duty" the wage is something less (usually 3s. 6d.), which is another instance of the shameless robbery of these men, seeing that it is not through their fault that they are "put back" in the shed, or "cancelled." Once a man is passed for firing he should be treated and paid as such.

As a rule the spare fireman's week is six days. Occasionally, however, it is seven days. He is usually on shunting work, but is sometimes put on long trips—a common practice on the M.R. The period of spare-firing is about two or three years, then the man undergoes a further exam. for a regular fireman.

His promotion generally follows in the order of seniority, but the company "reserves the right of choice for promotion irrespective of seniority"—a clause which obviously leaves plenty of room for robbery.

Once a man is passed as a regular fireman he is always at work on engines, either on or off shed; so in looking at his working conditions we shall commence to get to grips with the indictment that has already been levelled at the underpaid, who are overworked and underpaid, which are circumstances not consistent with public safety.

Let us briefly look at his conditions. Ten hours constitute his working day. This, for a man standing over a furnace which (according to C. I. Bowen Cooke, of the L.N.W., in his book "British Locomotives") develops a temperature of 5,027 degrees Fah., is excessive.

To give some idea of the nature of the work let me quote from an article, "A day's work on the footplate," which appeared in that capitalist organ, "The Railway Magazine," Oct. 1909, and in which the author says: "With 14½ on (a moderate load) I fire up every two minutes, and sometimes oftener." That this is no exaggeration is shown by the fact that on some of the big engines the coal consumed is about 50 lbs per mile.

Before leaving the shed the fireman is to make up his fire, assist in oiling, clean and trim his lamps, fetch oil for his driver, and in many cases clean his "front" and otherwise assist his driver to get the engine ready to back on the train. By this time he must be "squared up" and have steam up to anything between 140 to 225 lbs per square inch.

To get the engine ready to leave the shed half an hour is allowed; to get "on train" from shed another half hour generally, but sometimes only a quarter. In "British Locomotives" Mr. Cooke (Chief Mechanical Engineer L.N.W.) says (p. 353): "Firemen should come to work before booked, and make all preparations with comfort to himself and his driver"—a thing all firemen have to do, for to get an engine ready in a proper manner to ensure safety in the time allowed is impossible, and many firemen "sign on" as much as half an hour before booked in order to make these preparations.

After an engine has run a trip one way "the fire must be cleaned, etc., in readiness for the return journey." ("British Locomotives," p. 370). In the running, when not actually firing, "the fireman must assist his driver in sighting the signals." (Rule 139). This is the way that he "learns the road."

After the return journey is completed and the engine is "on shed," it has to be "put away," which means thoroughly cleaning all the parts affected by fire, "turning" the engine, filling the tank, and locking up the tools, etc., reporting any losses of same. For this he is allowed half an hour, which is quite inadequate. He then "signs off," and is at liberty for nine hours (eight on the L.B.S.C.) from that time. But "in cases of emergency" he may be called out before he has had nine hours off. No matter what "turn" he is booked, after nine hours have expired from his "signing off," he is the "property" of the company employing him, and is liable to be "called out" at any time. If he is not at home when he is required he is cautioned or reprimanded, and often fined or suspended, for "not being available for duty when required."

The man's turn, as a rule, varies daily, and he does not know what turn he will be until the previous day (the Midland and the L.N.W. keep their men fairly well informed of their turns). As aforesaid, his working day is ten hours, but often circumstances compel him to work overtime, especially when starting his career as fireman on the main line, for which, of course, he is paid. Often a fireman does twelve hours or so, then has nine hours off, for two and three days together, the result being that he is tired before commencing his day's work. This, by the way, being consistent with the companies' ideas of "safety," to say nothing of Rule 6 and the dangerous way he may have to cross running roads during the day's work to carry out the detestable rule 35.

Anyway, his week must not exceed six, or sometimes seven, days (which is quite enough), so after his nine hours off periods he is given a rest of something like sixteen to twenty hours, but only nine of them are his—he is company's property for the rest of the time, for which he receives nothing.

Of course, anyone with a whit of sense can see that the "men only drive and fire for about four hours per day and are paid ten" ("A Day's Work on the Footplate," "Railway Magazine," Oct. 1909), and the statement of Mr. J. Gooday (Gen. Manager G.E.R.) and his directors, who consider that the "time the men are on duty counts only in the actual running" ("Railway Magazine," March 1907), is mere piffle, and is only intended to poison the mind of the man in the street, who regards such statements, emanating from such journals and gentlemen, as gospel truth.

It will be seen that the life of a fireman is worry from beginning to end, with bad rest, bad coal, bad engines, bad conditions generally, and bad pay—with which I will deal later.

Now we come to conditions which are rather peculiar to most sons of toil, but which play an important part in dividend making as applied to the Loco. Dept. of the trunk lines. I refer to "lodging," one of the biggest curses that can befall the loco. man, whether driver or fireman. The sum allowed for a "lodging" is 1s. 6d., and if it exceeds twelve hours, 2s. 6d. The latter price, however, is easily wrangled by "calling out" the man a minute or before the twelve hours have expired.

The "main line" men are affected by this, on some lines more than on others. On short lines it is unknown. The men working the long distance goods trains are generally safe for a "lodging out," because they can only get one way by the time their day is up. They, therefore, on their scanty wages, have to keep two homes going, to say nothing of making a smoke as the result of the bad coal supplied. (See "British Locomotives," p. 346.)

The fireman's wages vary from 3s. 6d. to 5s. 6d. per day, according where and by whom he is employed—a good average through the country being about 30s. a week. A main line man might get somewhere about 30s. if he is lucky; but besides "lodging," time worked that he is not paid for, and time at home "waiting" after his nine hours are up for which, as I have said, he gets nothing, and many other expenses connected with the calling, he has to run something like 950 miles.

The wages are nothing like sufficient, neither are there enough men by half, as the long-distance engine working and "lodging" will show. And engines work daily double journeys of 180

odd miles.

The usual term of firing is from twelve to sixteen years, and it is a period of excessive robbery from beginning to end. And while such conditions prevail, and such a set of men are worked as they are, the "welfare and safety" of the travelling public is impossible.

J. SEVIER.
(To be Continued.)

FIRST STEPS IN SOCIALISM.

—o—

II.—ARE WAGES NECESSARY?

Our first article under the above heading was devoted to the consideration of the question: "Who are the Working Class?" We will now consider the significance of the working-class position.

The working class are wage workers. That is, they depend for their livelihood entirely upon the money they receive by the sale of their labour power.

It must not be supposed that a wage-worker class has existed through all time. People are so accustomed now-a-days to the wages idea that a great many of them have considerable difficulty in realising that any form or degree of civilisation could have existed without wages. They are so used to the idea that without wages they can get nothing; they are so accustomed to the hard experience that when wages cease to come in they starve; they are impressed and saturated with the concrete knowledge that the orbit of their lives is inexorably prescribed by the magnitude of the magic wage: they are so inured to the aspect presented by these circumstances of their environment, that the admission that under Socialism there will be neither paying nor receiving of wages is sufficient to cause them to reject the Socialist proposition with the remark: "Can't be done!"

But the wages system and the wage-worker, as we understand them to-day, are quite modern social characteristics—newer, say, than St. Paul's Cathedral; newer, perhaps, even than such symbols of God's will on earth as the top-hat and the pipe-clay belt.

When we speak of the wages system and the wage-worker, however, we have in mind a very definite social feature, and it will be as well to explain here exactly what is meant by the terms, for the benefit of those who are new to the study of social science.

If the wage-worker is new, wages, of course, are not. "The labourer is worthy of his hire" was written many generations before the hired labourer was a wage-worker in the modern sense of the term, just as the reference to Joseph's "coat of many colours" was penned ages before the world knew a tailor. Wages are older than the wages system, just as coats are older than the tailoring trade.

The wages system is that system whereunder the whole of the wealth of the community is produced by wage-labour. The wage-worker is one whose sole means of subsistence are the proceeds of the sale of his or her labour power—wages.

Now the wages system, as here described, obviously could not exist save in conjunction with a certain form of property ownership. It is not that this ownership must be private ownership. Property was privately owned centuries before the wages system grew up. The social system which immediately preceded the present one was based on private property, yet very little of the community's wealth was produced by wage-labour.

The particular form of private ownership which is essential for the development of the wages system is that form which provides a propertyless class—that form which takes away from a section every shred of the means of living except their labour power. In other words, the whole of the means of production must belong to a section of the people.

This particular form of private property did not exist till comparatively recent times. Prior to its establishment the working class had free access to the land, and consequently had not to depend upon the sale of their labour power for their livelihood. They did occasionally work for wages, just as they did occasionally sell part of

the produce of their labour, in order to procure money to pay taxes, or to purchase the few things required that they did not produce for themselves. But they never became wage slaves while they had access to the soil, for the simple reason that they had at hand the means of producing all the essentials of life for themselves, without being driven to hire themselves to others.

Even the artisans and the handcraftsmen in the towns, where they did work for wages, had their portion of land, on which they produced many of their requirements, and had, besides, reasonable certainty that, when they had become proficient in their craft, the ownership of the implements of their trade would be within their easy reach, and present them with the opportunity of gaining freedom.

So it will be seen that the wages system is by no means an indispensable part of human life. Our ancestors got on very well without it. Indeed, they had neither use nor need for it until they had been stripped of everything they possessed except their labour-power.

Only when they had been driven from their homes and their fields and converted into propertyless outcasts did the working class resort to the labour market for their livelihood. Prior to that they had produced wealth for their own consumption, and money had played but small part in their life. Thorold Rogers calculated that about 16s. a year sufficed to cover all the wants of an average working-class family apart from the direct produce of their own labour for one year, and though that sum represented more than it does to day, it serves to show how small a figure wages cut in medieval life. For that 16s. worth of goods purchased by a family in a year (the chief item of which was boots) represented all that they consumed of the products of wage labour.

I am perfectly conscious of the fact that things have changed greatly since those days; I am aware that men no longer produce the goods they require to satisfy their own needs; I know that it is utterly impossible for us to go back to the state of things wherein each family produced all their own requirements; I understand how the furthest corners of the earth must contribute to the maintenance of the meanest among us, and if it be even its merest highway beggar, who ties his pitiful rags about him with a waste end of string that has already served a dozen worthy purposes, half the world must labour to provide his girdle; and knowing all this, I ask what function is there that wages serve that is not, like wages, the direct outcome of private ownership in the means of living?

—o—
say that we cannot do without wages and the wages system is to say that is absurd. Though it is true that wages are the means by which the workers live, it is equally true that wages are the means whereby the workers are robbed. The wage serves no other function than to render possible this robbery. It does not even record the fact that its possessor has performed his share of the world's work, for wages have a fleeting identity, and there nothing to show how the coins they consist of are come by.

With the abolition of private property, and wages, and money, it will be very easy to assure that each person shall perform his or her share of the necessary labour of production, and the "problem" of distribution then would be no problem at all—as we shall see in a future contribution.

A. E. JACOMB.

"SOCIALISM
versus
TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR JULY.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	1 st 6th.	13th.	20th.	27th.
Battersea, S.E. Pk. Gates Prince's Head	11.30 C. Elliott	A. Timms	C. Baggett	J. Roe
" 7.30 A. Jacobs	A. Jacobs	H. King	J. Roe	J. Fitzgerald
Clapham Common 3.30 A. J. cobs	C. Baggett	C. Baggett	J. Le Carte	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green 7.30 F. J. Rourke	A. Pearson	A. Hoskyns	A. Bays	A. Hoskyns
Finsbury Park 6.0 H. King	A. Anderson	A. Hoskyns	J. Le Carte	J. Le Carte
Forest Gate, (Station) 7.30 J. Brown	C. Gatter	A. Jacobs	H. King	H. King
Hyde Park (Marble Arch) 7.30 T. W. Allen	A. Kohn	J. Le Carte	A. Bays	A. Bays
Ilford (station) 7.30 A. Timms	J. Brown	C. Elliott	A. Gatter	A. Gatter
Manor Park, Earl of Essex 11.30 W. Lewington	A. Jacobs	A. Leslie	C. Parker	C. Parker
" 7.30 C. Baggett	A. Bays	J. Brown	A. L. Cox	A. L. Cox
Parliament Hill 11.30 T. W. Allen	J. Roe	S. Blake	A. Kohn	A. Kohn
Peckham Triangle 7.30 J. G. Stone	C. Elliott	A. Barker	E. Lake	E. Lake
Paddington, Prince of Wales 11.30 A. Anderson	C. Elliott	T. W. Allen	H. Cooper	H. Cooper
Wadebridge, Edg. Rd., Dulwich 12.0 J. Fitzgerald	A. Cox	A. W. Pearson	J. G. Stone	J. G. Stone
Tooting Broadway 11.30 C. Baggett	E. Lake	B. Young	F. J. Rourke	F. J. Rourke
" 7.30 A. L. Cox	A. Barker	J. Fitzgerald	A. Timms	A. Timms
Tottenham, West Green Cn. 11.30 F. J. Rourke	A. Kohn	A. L. Cox	T. W. Allen	T. W. Allen
" 7.30 A. Hoskyns	J. G. Stone	A. W. Pearson	A. Kohn	A. Kohn
Walham Green Church 7.30 A. Barker	C. Baggett	C. Gatter	J. G. Stone	J. G. Stone
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn. 7.30 A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	H. King	A. W. Pearson	A. W. Pearson
Wood Green, Jolly Butchers Hill 11.30 S. Blake	F. Stearn	F. J. Rourke	W. Lewington	W. Lewington
" 7.30 A. Anderson	H. Cooper	A. Timms	T. W. Allen	T. W. Allen
Watford Market Place 7.30 A. Bays	J. Fitzgerald	F. J. Rourke	B. Wilks	B. Wilks

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cn. 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Mossbury Rd., Lavender Hill, 8.**FRIDAYS.**—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. North Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Wimbleton Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8 Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.**BEDFORD.**—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88 Britania-rd.**CENTRAL.**—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.**EAST HAM.**—Communications to Sec., at Hartley Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.**EDMONTON.**—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.**FULHAM.**—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.**GRAVESEND.**—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.**ILFORD.**—Communications to Sec., 119 Second Ave., Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sun. at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.**ISLINGTON.**—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.**MANCHESTER.**—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Fridays at 8. Public invited.**MARYLEBONE.**—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.**NOTTINGHAM.**—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Ballour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Thurs. at 8, at 24 Middle Furlong-rd.**PADDINGTON.**—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portmarn-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).**PECKHAM.**—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's-rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.**—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.**STOKE NEWINGTON.**—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons 8.15 at 108, Farleigh-rd.**TOOTING.**—C. Elliott, Sec., 4 Denison-rd., Merton, S.W. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).**TOTTENHAM.**—G. P. Plummer, Sec., 45 Gloucester Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.**WALTHAMSTOW.**—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badis road. Branch meets Mondays at 8, at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st., Walthamstow.**WATFORD.**—G. Dodman, Sec., 15, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

Printed by A. JACOBS, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

THAT in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

THAT this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

THAT as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

THAT this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

THAT as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

THAT as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS
ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.
OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT
7.30 p.m.

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

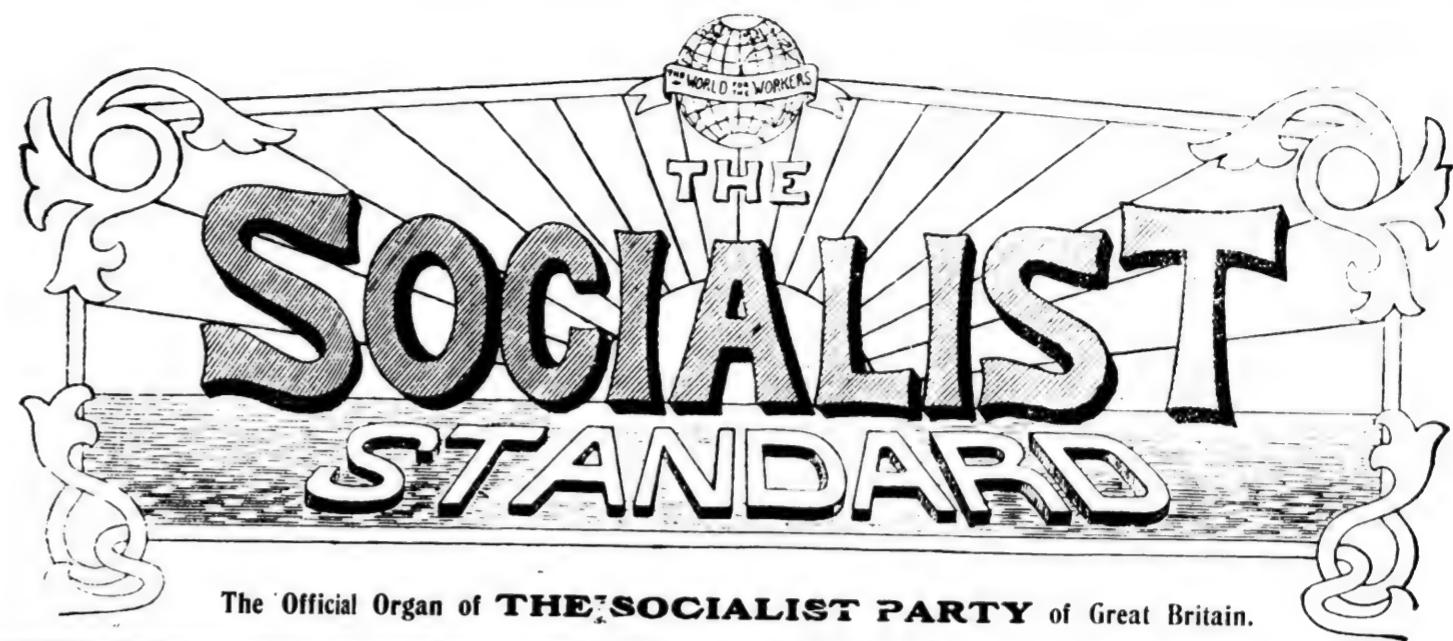
Bound in Cloth.

3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. - 5/6 post free.
SINGLE YEAR VOL. - 3/- "

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC,

By F. ENGELS.

Price 6d. - - - Post Free 7d.



The Official Organ of THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain.

No. 108. Vol. 9.]

LONDON, AUGUST 1913.

[MONTHLY. ONE PENNY.

HOW THE WORKERS ARE BUTCHERED ON THE RAND.

PUTUMAYO is not such ancient history but that one person here and there, with an exceptional memory for grisly tales of barbarity and suffering, can with an effort recall something of the facts of that interesting case. The present writer endeavoured to show that the wave of indignation which swept over the land, from the Cabinet Ministers in our immaculate Parliament to the poet (!) (now deceased) who once stirred the nation's soul with a deathless poem calling upon the British bulldogs to "Hurry Up for Pity Sake!" (the merit of which poem was handsomely acknowledged by it being printed on red cotton handkerchiefs and sold at a price within the means of all who had a nose to wipe thereon) might well have been let loose over equally deserving happenings very much nearer home.

That statement did not meet with universal approval. It seemed incredible to some that those smart, jovial, silk-hatted gentlemen who rush to and fro between Park Lane and Throgmorton Street, and who carry so gracefully the knighthoods and honours heaped upon them by the Liberal Government, could ever be guilty, could even fall under suspicion of being guilty, of any such atrocities as those with which those strange-named servants of a British company turned the peaceful Putumayo into a river of blood and tears in a "Devil's Paradise."

Recent happenings in South Africa, however, in which British miners, and British soldiers, and British (!) capitalists, and British knights, and the highest of high officers of the British Crown, are concerned, show clearly enough that in all essentials, the "cultured" ones of our Western civilisation are quite as capable, given the materials, as any Portuguese half-breed in the pay of British capital, of creating a "Devil's Paradise" of their own, with British blood and brains, on the soil of the British Empire.

All the humbug of that old servant of Satan, W. E. Gladstone, who covered his machinations in the interests of the ruling class with a slime of "moral" cant, in which the "wrongs" of the Balkan people quivering under the spiked and envenomed heel of "Abdul the Damned" were in particular made to be a mat, jealously guarded and preserved, for him to clean his begrimed boots on, has been, it seems, bequeathed in trust and with compound interest, to the Liberal party. While they are busy fulminating against the "White Slave Trader" at home, they are, with brutal cynicism, crowning the blood reeking fortunes of South African millionaires with titles. So that the political funds of the "Great Liberal Party" may benefit, they make murder respectable by covering it with the cloak of knighthood.

Those who do not know how, and at what cost of working class suffering and misery, these South African fortunes have been amassed, are

invited to think over the scanty particulars here reproduced from a Press which, under the system, fails to suppress much that they would for the simple reason that sensation (and advertisement) is their life's blood.

"However healthy a Transvaal rock-drill man may appear to be on his return to this country," Dr. Haldane told the Departmental Committee on Industrial Diseases in 1907, "he will probably be dead within a year or two." ("Pall Mall Gazette," 7.7.13.)

"The death rate of one section of the men who mine the gold—the machine men or rock drillers—is over 230 per thousand from one disease—miner's phthisis—alone. Such a death rate from a single occupational disease must be unparalleled in the whole industrial world. It can only be compared with King Leopold's Congo Free State."

"Speaking before a representative meeting of mining engineers in Johannesburg in September last Mr. Koetze, the Government mining engineer, said: 'Sooner or later every worker underground in these mines will contract miner's phthisis.'

"The practical result of commissions of inquiry have been recommendations that water be used to keep down the dust which causes the disease. These recommendations have been urged upon the mineowners, in each case with the same result—utter callousness and neglect."

These extracts were written by Dr. G. L. Ugmaria, M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., and were reproduced in the "Morning Leader" for December 2, 1911.

"No less than 10,000 people die in these mines every year." (Mr. Merriman.)

"Miners' phthisis is said to be due to the inhalation of fine dust which arises not merely from rock-drilling without the accompaniment of water, but also from the blasting operations with explosives. Last year more than 1,000 of 3,000 men examined by the Medical Commission were found to have phthisis. No rock-driller could work in the mines for sixteen years and escape it. Death took place as a rule before the age of forty. Here is a table which showed at that time how inevitable is the doom of any man who undertakes this work:

Years of service.	Percentage of men affected.
2 ¹	25
4 ¹	55
6 ¹	70
10 ¹	80
13 ¹	90
15 ²	100."

"Daily News."

"Then all the miners and the population

know that the mine owners are responsible in the same way for the death rate among the Kaffirs, which Mr. Sauer, the Minister for Native Affairs, has characterised, as regards the natives from tropical countries, as little short of murder. There was no need for any limitation in the phrase. The probability is that over 100,000 natives have been killed in the mines since the war." (Mr. R. L. Outhwaite M.P., in "Reynold's," 6.7.13.)

There can be no escape from such a mass of evidence supplied by the capitalists' own tools and fellows. Ten thousand victims in a year! It would take a continent of Putumayos to equal this stupendous crime. When the war was raging we were told that they were "painting the map red," but never in those days of open and avowed slaughter were such libations of blood poured out to the "Imperial idea" as have been run out, as from a vast broken cask, every year since, to satisfy the blood-thirsty vampires of Park Lane, in the ultra respectable West End of London.

It is the story of Whitehaven retold in more callous letters. There miners were hurled to death because it would cost their safe and comfortable masters something to ventilate the mine in accordance with the first clause of their own Mines Act. On the Rand thousands of working-class lives are thrown away annually because it would absorb some of the knighted owners' profits to spray with water in the process of rock drilling, and to allow time for the dust to settle after a "blast" before the men returned to the "face." It is the story of rubber retold, on a scale more in keeping with the dignity of the yellow commodity.

It cannot be pleaded that this wholesale murder of black and white is the work of a few of the capitalists alone. It is aided and connived at by the whole master class as such. How the British Government imposed a "hut tax" upon the natives whose land they had stolen, and sent a military force to enforce the payment of the paltry sum that could never pay the expense of collecting them, in order to drive the blacks into the mines to earn the money in which alone the taxes were payable, may not be entirely forgotten by some who do not especially treasure the memory of these curious incidents. It reads and looks and smells remarkably like some of the means resorted to by the "brigands" who cost virtuous England the price of a special commission and a House of Commons inquiry. Ten thousand victims a year! Oh, the stinking hypocrisy of the howl that greeted the revelation of the Peruvian atrocities!

The war which was engineered in order that the mine owners might squeeze another four million pounds profit per annum out of the writhing and quivering carcasses of their white and black slaves was the work of a Tory admini-

THE VITAL QUESTION.

stration, but it was reserved for a Liberal Government to make the Transvaal a "self governing" colony, in order that they might be able to say when miners were to be butchered on the Rand: "We cannot interfere." Strange, is it not, that when the Outlanders were supposed to be writhing in agony under the indignity of being without the franchise, the fact that they were under a foreign Government did not prevent the full armed might of the British Empire being used to "see them righted," but now that these miners are being massacred in cold blood by troops provided and paid by the British Government, under the direction of a high officer of the British Crown, on soil "painted red" with the blood of ten thousand British soldiers, nothing can be done because the Transvaal is a self-governing British colony!

I say nothing about the lives lost in the so-called rioting. Where life is held so cheap it seems little enough to make a bother about. But whose estimate of working-class life is it that counts ten thousand workers lives as of less importance than the cost of providing safe conditions for the mining of 40 million pounds worth of gold? Think of that great army of workers—men of your own class—who must march to death to produce one year's output of gold from South African mines. Ten thousand of them, black and white. For every million pounds 250 lives. We have been nurtured on grim and haunting pictures of the unspeakable Arab slave-caravans, but was ever anything more appalling enacted in all Africa than is enacted by these silk-hatted brigands of Park Lane, West?

Fellow workers, very guarded must be the language of the revolutionary who would criticise those who engineered a great war in order to grab the mines, who have butchered you on a hundred shambles from Peterloo and Featherstone to Llanelly and the Rand, who waste your lives by raising the loadline of ships, and by refusing to adopt automatic couplings on the railways, who murder you by thousands for the mere cost of ventilating coal mines at home and spraying the dust in the mines of South Africa. To speak too plainly of these things is to ask to be sent to prison, for those who set so little store on your lives have taken every cunning care to hedge about their victims with laws and armed force that they must die almost unheard. Hence much must be left to the reader's imagination. But attention is directed to that clause in our Declaration of Principles which declares that the "armed forces of the nation exist only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers. Its contradiction, in the face of every military action since the war, from Sir George White's (the "hero" of Ladysmith) smashing of the coal porters' strike at Gibraltar to the latest gun-boat demonstration at Leith and cold-blooded butchery in the streets of Johannesburg, is here challenged. It cannot be seriously and truthfully contradicted.

If this is true, then it is true also that the hope of the workers lies in obtaining control of those armed forces by capturing political power.

That is the way out—the Socialist way. First to deprive the master class of political control by ceasing to elect them and their Labour allies to Parliament—electing Socialists instead—then by expropriating them and establishing the Socialist Commonwealth. There is no other way.

A. E. JACOBB.

"SOCIALISM versus TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

—

Post, Free 1¹/₂.

All men and women, whether they happen to be rich or poor, capitalist or worker, whether they are of much intellectual, physical, and social merit or are but poor fools devoid of all the graces, at some time or other come face to face with what is, did they but know it, the greatest and most important crisis of their lives. I mean that moment when they are forced to ask themselves the questions: "What am I doing? what am I? where am I going?"

This moment of self-interrogation comes to everyone, brought about, it may be, by something they read, but however coming, compelling them to "take stock" of themselves. The majority of people bark the question—cannot or dare not attempt to answer. Especially at the present time, when social conditions are tending to breed a class (the working class) whose whole outlook on life is one of physical and mental supineness, and, on the other hand, a class (the capitalist class) which looks on life as a period of gross and violent pleasures, of brutal indifference to anything but its own well-being. This supremely important question is put on one side by almost everybody.

It is an inconvenient question, an ugly question—the kind of thing that keeps one awake at night, that creeps between us and the pleasure we are taking or the work we are doing; and so it is easier to endeavour to forget it than to answer it, to shelve it until we have time from our pleasures or rest from our work to think about it. We are, most of us, cowards—the worker as well as the capitalist—frightened of life, drifting downward to destruction on the current of present-day degeneration.

There are, however, some—we at least who are Socialists—who, having been brought up against this dead wall of self ignorance, realise how imperative it is that it should be stormed and broken down. We realise that this question of our present position and future activities must be answered, and answered correctly, for on the answer we give rests not only our existence as individuals, but the existence of the human race.

The capitalist class is hopeless. The uselessness of expecting help from such a class becomes every day more and more apparent. (Not that Socialists ever expected or wanted help from the capitalists.) If society is ever to be established on a basis wherein the great potentialities of life may have a chance of fruition, then it is, and can only be, the working class who will thus establish it.

To expect the capitalist class, with their narrow vision, their lack of imagination, their callous indifference and their unctuous self-satisfaction ever to engage in any task other than the conservation of themselves as a class, would be absurd. The absurdity becomes even plainer when it is remembered that the inception of the Socialist basis of society implies the total elimination of the capitalist class.

If this is true, then it is true also that the hope of the workers lies in obtaining control of those armed forces by capturing political power.

That is the way out—the Socialist way. First to deprive the master class of political control by ceasing to elect them and their Labour allies to Parliament—electing Socialists instead—then by expropriating them and establishing the Socialist Commonwealth. There is no other way.

A. E. JACOBB.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

J. HARVEY Walthamstow ... Your questions on Rates and Taxes and Wages will be answered in our next issue.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).
- "Moorland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
- "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
- "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
- "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
- "The Call" (New York).
- "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
- "International News Letter" (Berlin).

It therefore becomes the task of the Socialist—who has realised his class position as a wage-slave, who clearly understands what is necessary to alter that degrading position, and whose

whole activities are focussed upon the change in society necessary if freedom from wage slavery is to be accomplished—to try by any and every means to concentrate the minds of the members of the working class on the things that matter. We, as Socialists, understand too well what we are! We realise—and we want every other of our fellows to realise—that we are units in a vast multitude of men and women, working day after day, often far into the night, for what is the bare necessary amount of food, clothing, and shelter to keep us fit to continue this unending round of toil. We are the products of a system that gives us the worst food, the shoddiest clothing, the most meagre shelter. We live in an atmosphere of physical and mental squalor. Art and literature are to us practically non-existent. The greatest work of art gives forth no message; the noblest literature is so many empty words. The natural beauties of the world are not for us. We have not the time nor the opportunity, not even the inclination in many cases, to study them. We are the workers; our life's business is to work so that our masters may enjoy (!) life. We are the slaves of a class composed of men and women who are, in a sense, themselves the slaves of the present social system of capitalism. Can there be a greater degradation than to be the slave of slaves?

But the difference between us and the working men and women who do not yet understand their class position is that we are not content to remain as we are. To be free, as far as freedom is possible in a social sense, is the goal towards which we are striving. And we know that only by the complete overthrow of capitalism, the destruction of the present system of private ownership in the means of life and the establishment of the common ownership by the whole people in the means of life, can the slaves of capitalism throw off their shackles and be free men and women.

We know, moreover, that only by the co-operation of the working class in its entirety can this be accomplished. The emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself. We, for our part, believe and hope that that co-operation and help we ask for will be forthcoming, and to obtain this help and co-operation is the object of our propaganda.

Every day it is becoming more evident to the workers that they are slaves and nothing more. However objectionable the term may be to many the facts of everyday experience are proving this to be the case. The question as to what the position of the worker is in society needs little answering. But the question which every member of the working class will sooner or later be compelled to answer, the question as to whether he or she is going backward or forward, onward to a time when life shall be free and full and joyous or to an atavistic period when the chains that bind the slave shall gall even more than now, when freedom shall be a forgotten dream, when life itself shall be a hell darker than any Dantesque vision—this question still awaits a reply.

It would seem, indeed, that the wheel is come almost to full circle. Men and women of the working class, it is for you to answer your own question! Whither goest thou?

F. J. WEBB.

THE FORUM.

THE BOGEY OF THE PALLIATIVE.

We have received the following request for information from a reader. As our reply is likely to prove of general interest we afford it the publicity of these columns.

Gentlemen, —I should feel much obliged if you would answer the following questions for me:

(1) If a Bill was brought forward in Parliament to establish a 30s. minimum wage all round, would the Socialist delegate support it by word or deed?

(2) Supposing the above object were accomplished, would not that be palliating the condition of the workers to some extent, therefore constituting in itself a palliative measure, and consequently conflicting with your idea of hostility to all palliatives? Should a Socialist delegate support a capitalist legislative measure to this effect?

(3) Again supposing the above were an established fact, the cost of production would be increased to the extent of the increase in wages. Would not that determine a higher price on the market for commodities which are essential to human life, to which increase the working class must submit or starve, as they would be faced with an economic barrier of an all-round increase of cost of food, clothing and boots?

Result: condition no better for the working class; a more rapid growth of combines and the pushing out of the smaller distributors to extinction as such.

W. H.

The three questions are based on a misunderstanding of the Socialist position. This is shown clearly in question 2, which may therefore be dealt with first.

The ruling idea of the Socialist Party is the attainment of Socialism. "Hostility to all palliatives" is not, and never has been, the "idea" of the S.P. (taking the word "palliative" to mean simply any ameliorative proposition that leaves capitalist control intact).

The Socialist Party, however, shows that the road to Socialism does not lie through "palliations," and that even where such measures may effect a slight improvement in the lot of any workers, they are by their nature simply patches on a rotten fabric, and consequently in no way instalments of the new society. In short, nearly all so-called palliatives do not palliate; and even where they may do so, the economic development of capitalism progressively produces ill effects that even outstrip every palliative effort, and make the need for Socialism more imperative.

Further, even were the work of the S.P. simply an attempt to cause the enactment of reform measures that would appreciably benefit the whole working class, it would first be necessary for the Party to conquer the power of the State. Thus even for reform worth the name, a revolution would be necessary, whereas Socialism could be had at the same price. Moreover, the workers could be more easily united as a whole for Socialism than for a programme of sectional, mutually conflicting, pettifogging reforms.

These are some of the reasons, together with the important fact that the economic trend makes Socialism the only practical proposition, that make it impossible for the Socialist Party to put forward a reform programme.

The task of the working-class party is the conquest of the governmental machinery and forces, for Socialist ends. Consequently support is only useful to the party on that understanding. To pander to the reform mania would attract non Socialists and weaken the party, while the absence of positive or useful result would spread disgust and apathy.

A reform programme is, in fact, fraudulent, particularly from the Socialist standpoint. Therefore, while willing to secure any amelioration or help possible for the workers in their fight against capital the Socialist Party realises that Socialism transcends all else, and stands distinct from all other parties on a programme of Socialism and nothing but Socialism. No palliation could be effective enough, in view

of the necessary conditions of the development of capitalism, to put back the hour of emancipation to any appreciable extent. It could only demonstrate once more the helplessness of anything short of Socialism. What does put back the hour of emancipation is the false hope in reform assiduously fostered by astute capitalists and ignorant or corrupt Labour politicians.

It is scarcely necessary to state (in view of the utter barrenness of the parties who would barter the workers' future for present crumb) that such a revolutionary policy will be far more fruitful in possible ameliorations than the policy of the Labour Party or the B.S.P. Moreover, any slight benefit gained by the revolutionary party's activity would intensify the revolutionary policy for Socialism, even were it not a fact that economic conditions worsen the workers' lot far more rapidly than benefits could be obtained. The workers' party, however, having raised no false hope in such benefits, would have all to gain and nothing to lose.

Since it is, as has already been shown, incorrect that the S.P.G.B. "idea is hostility to all palliatives," it is clear that the attitude of a representative of the workers' party on any measure will depend on the measure itself and the conditions at the time. It is necessary to know the clauses of the Bill first of all, and then the party, in possession of the vital facts, must express, democratically, its will in the matter. These conditions cannot be fulfilled in the discussion of such an imaginary absurdity as "a 30s. minimum wage all round."

As a live party, using present-day facts as a basis for its Socialism, the Socialist Party must face all the facts, and decide in view of the actual facts. It cannot sterilise itself in an ignorant formula, or blind itself to future development.

Unfortunately, such a measure as is suggested by the phrase "minimum wage of 30s. all round" is quite utopian and useless for the purpose of example. For political and economic reasons of the strongest kind "30s. minimum all round" is impossible. Only where, by successive modifications, exemptions, exceptions, permissions, and restrictions, the actual measure obliterates the "30s.," the "minimum," and the "all round," does it approach the realms of probability. So long as capitalists rule and capitalism lasts, so long will competition in the labour market and in the world market be with us, and unemployment dog our steps. These facts alone completely nullify any such utopian measure even if, by a miracle, capitalist Parliament were to enact it. Why, then, make a bother about reform when only Socialism can help?

Regarding question 3, this is based on an economic fallacy. Wages do not determine prices. It is, moreover, a historical fact that an increase in wages is scarcely ever obtained until after the rise in prices. But even if the economic assumption in the question were not wrong the argument would still fail.

If a rise in wages did mean a proportionate rise in prices, the workers would still gain. They produce all commodities, but buy back less than one third of them in value. The capitalist class buy the rest, and pay two thirds or more of the increase thereby. Consequently the workers would gain over two-thirds of the nominal increase in wages.

Prices, however, are determined in the ultimate by the amount of useful necessary labour involved, and not at all by the amount of wages paid. On this matter compare "Value, Price, and Profit," by a famous but little studied Socialist economist. It touches the spot.

For the rest, the questions raise important and interesting points, some of which have been dealt with at length in an attempt to make things clear. Other points have, perchance, been left for private study. The fact that the attitude suggested by the questions is based on a misunderstanding has made it difficult to be brief. Yet the knowledge of economics, and of Socialism in its wider aspects, that is required to rectify the point of view from which the questions arise could not possibly be given in a single letter.

It is consequently urged that a study of the literature of the party be made, and the result will be an increase in the membership of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Ex. Com. S.P.G.B.

WHITE SLAVES IN PARLIAMENT.

"The Parliament of Man—the Federation of the World." Thus sang the poet—but it is not yet. The Parliament of our time is an assembly of traffickers in slaves—of all colours but mostly white—of both sexes but of women increasingly.

During the past month the dockers of those busy ports, Hull, Leith, etc., have struck against the tyranny of the slave owners. These most helpless of casual labourers, the men who congregate round dock gates for hours in the hope of obtaining a few hours slavery, found themselves faced by the majesty of the law—the law made by robbers to sanction robbery.

The representatives of mighty moneyed interests made demands for police and military, and the Liberal Home Secretary promptly ordered troops to the seat of struggle. "Reybold" (20.7.13) announced "Warships Ready," not to fight the Germans, but the white slaves of the black international. This Liberal paper says: "Six gunboats of the mine-laying class have arrived at the port with several hundred men ready to be landed to protect life and property." The lives and property of the traders in flesh and blood. "The military and naval authorities are now acting conjointly in the matter—all in the interests of the shipowners and merchants who use Parliament so well to further their own ends.

The dockers at Hull and elsewhere will see these things repeated while they vote into power Liberals and their Labour and Tory allies, what time they rely upon an inefficient and out-of-date trade union to prosecute their economic struggles.

The Wilson family of Liberal shipowners boast of a generation's representation of Hull; of such is the blindness of Labour!

* * *

For many weeks the white slaves of the Black Country have been fighting for 2s. per week for wearing out their lives before furnaces and kilns and making wealthy the shining lights of the Liberal and Tory parties. After a sad and foreshadowed struggle they have gone back to work on a compromise of 2s. per week.

Recently it was the girls and women of the adjacent towns and Cradley Heath who were driven to strike. These women, making chains of iron for those who hold them bound in chains more cruel than can be forged out of any metal, stayed out some weeks, until the Board of Trade (in white slaves) settled the matter by ordering employers to pay "all workers except learners" the starvation rate of 2d. per hour. When the lace workers of Nottingham rose against their death-dealing wage the same Trade Boards Act passed by the parasites' Parliament fixed their wages at 2d. per hour for "all workers except learners." The tailoresses in the bespoken (better class) branch of the male garment trade were next treated to Christian charity in the shape of 3d. per hour for "all workers except learners."

It may, indeed, be truly said that the Trade Boards were used to make coffins for the toilers.

* * *

This same Parliament decided that 5d. per hour was a "fair wage" for the navvies building a new naval base at Rosyth. The men struck for 6d., which was the local rate, whereupon the manager of the local Labour Exchange proceeded to Dublin to hire the sons of Erin at 5d. per hour. Meanwhile the Irish Party of hungry politicians voted with the Government against enforcing any higher wage than 5d. To add to the irony of the situation, the men building the new naval base found the harbour held by gunboats sent by the plutocrats' Parliament to shoot them if they deemed it desirable.

* * *

Space fills and time flies. I had intended to deal with the latest developments of what is sanctimoniously called "The White Slave Traffic," the last hope of the beaten and broken dervishes of murderous industrialism. Another phase of the trade in white slaves arranged by Parliament—I refer to the white slaves of insurance—also demands attention, but both these must await a future issue.

A. K.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed to The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free 1s. 6d.
Six 9d.

The Socialist Standard,



FRIDAY, AUG. 1, 1913.

THE LONDON SOCIETY
OF COMPOSITORS
AND THE
"SOCIALIST STANDARD."

In the May issue of the "London Typographical Journal" the SOCIALIST STANDARD is advertised. The advertisement takes the form of an attack, in which this Party is charged with producing its official organ in a "NON-SOCIETY OFFICE," and wherein incitement is given to the members of the London Society of Compositors to act with a view to getting this altered.

The immediate result was that at many of our public propaganda meetings our speakers were bombarded by L.S.C. members and others, with such questions as: "Where is the SOCIALIST STANDARD printed?" and "Why do you support that shop that employ blacklegs?"

In most cases the questioner's air of injured innocence coupled with a display of bad feeling made it quite clear that, while, apparently, he sincerely believed it to be nothing short of sacrilege to have anything printed outside a "society" house, he was obviously as ignorant of the facts relative to the production of our party organ as he was of the rottenness of his own "sacred" trade union. Our speakers, of course, were quite able to deal with such, and that line of attack was speedily abandoned.

Meantime, on the request of Mr. T. E. Naylor, of the L.S.C., the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party agreed to receive Mr. Davies, Organising Secretary of the L.S.C., on the matter. In the course of the interview this gentleman made the following admissions:

(1) That the L.S.C. did not know where the SOCIALIST STANDARD was produced or (2) how it was produced.

(3) That it would have been more fair if the L.S.C. had made enquiries of us before "black-listing" us.

(4) That it might be advisable for "legal and political" reasons for a "revolutionary working-class paper" to obscure its place of production.

Mr. Davies then explained that his society was desirous that the "composition" of the paper should be done at a "fair house," defining a "fair house" as an office where the employer pays the wages and observes the hours and conditions as approved by the L.S.C., and when he was assured that such definition could not meantime be applied to the production of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, since it is not "set up" in any "office" within the meaning of the trade language, he again admitted that it was a pity his society had not known that before, as had they been aware of the facts, he was quite sure they would not have put our journal on the "black list."

Mr. Davies was then asked if he would request his Committee to publish a retraction and an apology. This he was not prepared to do, but he said that if a letter (the text of which was agreed upon) was sent to the "Typographical Journal" he would use his influence with the editor to have it inserted and thus close the incident.

The letter was duly sent and inserted in the columns of the "Typographical Journal," and there, as far as we are concerned, the matter could have rested had not the editor of that paper (who, we understand, is Mr. T. E. Naylor, of the L.S.C.) thought fit to publish with our letter a false and dishonest comment.

Says the "Typographical Journal": "We accept the Socialist Party of any deliberate intention to produce their paper under any other than fair conditions. . . . Pending a satisfactory outcome of the negotiations now proceeding we must insist on retaining the name on the Objection List."

Now it is a deliberate lie to say "negotiations now proceeding," and although we wrote Mr. Naylor under date June 13, asking him what negotiations were referred to, he has not yet (July 29) been able to tell us. Seeing that no negotiations are proceeding, our name is likely to remain on the L.S.C.'s objection list for a considerable time—and we have no hesitation in saying that this is exactly what Messrs. Naylor & Co. wish.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD is a Socialist paper—the official organ of the Socialist Party, while Mr. Naylor and many of his committee are pseudo-Socialist; hence the pitiful attempt on the part of a few canting hypocrites to damage our circulation.

Although our organ is not "set up" in a "NON-SOCIETY office," and although it is actually printed in an office that has for years appeared on the "Fair List" of the L.S.C., we wish it to be clearly understood that we do not worship at the shrine of Trade Unionism, most certainly not at that of such a perversion of Trade Unionism as is typified by the L.S.C.

Nor, understanding as we do, the evils inherent in the capitalist system, can we engender such a horror of the "non-society" man as some ultra Trade Unionists profess to feel.

Therefore it is really with feelings of disgust and contempt that we listen to the unctuous twaddle of Mr. Naylor, who, it might appear, would put a ban on everything that does not carry the seal of Pope (or is it Father?) Naylor from the "chapel" of St. Bride Street.

Yet what is the record of this man and his Committee? Prior to the recent strike in the printing trade they were doing their best to keep men out of the society. During the strike they were advertising for all and sundry to come and join. And after miserably muddling through the worst managed strike of modern times—a strike in which they lost everything but the contempt of the masters and the pity of their fellows, while becoming the laughing stock of the printing trade, Mr. Naylor now PERMITS L.S.C. members to pose as non-unionists in order to get work and thus relieve the drain on the society's funds—which are needed for the maintenance of useless, because incapable, officials.

Can Mr. Naylor deny that he "permits" his members to leave their "cards" with him while they go and work as non-society men, with non-society men, in non-society houses, under non-society conditions? In his "Annual Report" of the L.S.C. issued February 1910, Mr. Naylor writes:

"AS REGARDS MEMBERSHIP THERE IS A REDUCTION ON THE YEAR OF 1912, PARTLY BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE POLICY OF RESTRICTION CARRIED OUT BY YOUR COMMITTEE. . . . SO FAR AS IS POSSIBLE, WE MUST CONSERVE THE INTERESTS OF OUR UNEMPLOYED MEMBERS, WHOSE POSITION WOULD BE MADE EVEN MORE PRECARIOUS BY THE TOO FREQUENT ADMISSION OF STRANGERS."

Here we have this pseudo-Socialist humbug of a labour leader desiring to keep men out of the society, thus making them "blacklegs," and then endeavouring to corner all the work for Society men—thereby condemning those kept out of the Society to perpetual unemployment, or banishing them from London. Meanwhile, with consummate impudence, he is prepared to give "permits" to his society men to play the role of non-unionists!

Could dirty, devilish deceit descend lower? Could the idea of Trade Unionism be reduced to a greater mockery? Could more noxious cant be conceived than that those men should

prate about "FAIR houses" and *fair* conditions of Labour? Yet these are the men who would impeach the SOCIALIST STANDARD! UGH!!

Arrogating the virtues to themselves, they point the finger of scorn at us. They put us on the "Objection List"—we return the compliment. We put the L.S.C. Committee and the "Typographical Journal" on our objection list, and we do so because we object, in view of the above, to Messrs. Naylor and Co. interfering with us—after all, there are limits; and further, because even if our party organ was "set up" in a non-society shop (which it is not), it could even then be done by L.S.C. men, and Mr. Naylor knows it.

Therefore let Naylor & Co. see to themselves.

To the rank and file of the L.S.C. we say read the SOCIALIST STANDARD and think for yourselves. Soon you will arise and sweep out the Augean stables of St. Bride Street—the sooner the better if you wish to save your society for Trade Unionism.

PUTTING DOWN REBELLION.

A Liberal Government are in power. This, of course, is equal to saying that cowardly bullying will reach its zenith during the period of the present administration. We have had many noisome examples up to date, and now we are treated to another, in which humble people in Ireland are arrested and charged with conspiring to publish and circulate seditious libels concerning the Government and their armed forces. The offenders are alleged to have posted in the thoroughfares of Belfast placards stating that the "soldiers and police are used by the Government to crush the working man when he stands up for his rights."

We are perfectly well aware that a statement does not necessarily have to be untrue to be a libel. We know that a famous lawyer has laid it down that "the greater the truth the greater the libel," and it will be very interesting, in view of the use that was made of troops in Belfast a year or two back, in view of the part the military played in the great railway strike of August 1911, in view of the police activities in Manchester, Liverpool, and London during the last two years, in view of the menace of the gun-boats at Grimsby and Hull, and within the last fortnight, at Leith; it will be interesting, we repeat, in view of all this, to observe whether the Government intend to rely upon the truth of the libel to magnify the enormity of the "crime."

However, we do not blame the Government for repressing every attack upon the security of the ruling class. Men holding the view that it is true that "the soldiers and police are used by the Government to crush the working man when he stands up for his rights" will by the force of logic expect those forces to be set in motion directly a blow is aimed at those who control them. To let light upon the purpose of the armed forces was therefore bound to be "regarded by the law officers of the Crown as of the highest importance." Only what might be expected, therefore, has happened.

This latest piece of bullying, however, shows up the Liberals as what they are—the most cowardly of all political parties. For "King" Carson can openly incite to rebellion, and even go the length of enrolling and swearing thousands for the adventure, yet the Government dare not lay hands upon the powerful rebel. But when it comes to a couple of shop assistants, then—why then it looks like a dodge of Lloyd-Georgian cunning to convert Ulster to Home Rule by the simple course of sickening it of "Saxon" tyranny.

NOTICE.

All sympathisers living in the Kilburn District are asked to communicate with

T. W. PASS,
4 CARDIGAN ROAD,
KILBURN.

with a view to joining the Kilburn branch now being formed.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

PUBLIC SAFETY

VERSUS

RAILWAY PROFITS.

[CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.]

III.—THE DRIVER.

How often has one gone on any busy station and seen a crowd of people gathered round a large engine just about to "get away" with a world famous train! And how often have we heard very harsh and untrue things said about the men thereon, especially in the neighbourhood of August 1911, by the master class, and even by many misguided workers!

"The men have fine jobs and get good money, and they ought not to be allowed anywhere where beer and spirits are sold, nor to smoke, for the responsibility of these men is great, and every precaution should be taken." That is what I have often heard from "gentlemen," and that, no doubt, expresses the ideas of many people on the subject.

I will attempt to show what a "fine job" and what "good money" falls to the lot of the engine driver.

As regards beer, Carrie Nation herself could not have said anything stronger; besides, it implies that the majority of accidents are due to drink, which is not the case—though doubtless there have been times when a loco. man has been at fault in this respect.

I am not advocating the "Standard's" "right to get drunk." I agree that "every precaution should be taken." But to debar the men from having any beer or tobacco is not precaution, but only tyranny. Real precautions cost money, and hence lower dividends, so they are not taken.

At the commencement of these articles I stated that in order to cope with the dangers of their calling, all men of the running department should be assured of a decent living, decent conditions, perfect machinery, good education, and encouragement. All this is essential to making a man thoroughly efficient. But all, alas! is sadly lacking.

The fireman who has done about sixteen years swinging the shovel first undergoes a very stiff exam. to see if the fire has "killed" his eyes. If such is the case he is ruthlessly cast aside, but if he gets through he is in for an exam. of the engine that no one has taught him—unless it is his driver, who only tells him what he has had to find out for himself. If he passes he is then a "spare driver": i.e., he drives if there is a job, but if not he has to go firing, with a corresponding reduction in pay. He is usually "spare driving" about four years, and then, after passing more exams. and tests, he becomes a full-blown driver.

Let us look at this man, whom we perhaps have seen with a pipe on as he sits down for a minute or two before running something like 350 miles. Upon his presence of mind and vigilance depends the safe running of the train, and one would think that, to keep him fit for a task that must tax him to the utmost, he above all men would be assured of decent conditions, pay, and rest. But far from this is the case.

The driver's hours are ten, and there is plenty of overtime. And besides being "in steam" at home, for which he is not paid, he is a victim of "lodging out."

It will be quickest, perhaps, to describe a driver's day's work. His first duty is to "sign on." He must then read the notices—whether they concern him or not he must read and know them—and sign a book saying that he has read them. He then proceeds to get his engine ready. "Everything that could possibly go wrong must be examined" ("British Locomotives," p. 348). At the same time he must oil the whole of the working parts. Often he must make a shunt to get water and coal. Having done all this, he "whistles up," and goes right away to back on to his train at a terminus or wait for it at a roadside station.

From signing on to "right away" half an hour is allowed (in the interest of safety) which is far too short a time in which to do the work satisfactorily on the big engines of to-day. This is well known to the officials, as Mr. Bowen Cooke says that the statement that the firemen should come on before booked applies equally to the drivers. ("British Locomotive," p. 383.)

Often only a quarter of an hour is allowed to get on the train, and this is the first the public sees of the driver when he has been at work an hour and a half.

When the driver backs on the train he delivers a "ticket" to the guard, who times the train throughout the trip, stating whether he is early or late at various points and why. And if the driver is not "to time," and no "satisfactory" excuse is forthcoming, it means a fine or suspension, even if the engine is vastly overloaded.

Another examination of the brake apparatus is made here to see if it is all right on the train, in accordance with rule 3d Vacuum Appendix, and the guard tells him what load he has on, and the brake-power under his control.

The average express-train load, throughout the country is about 350 tons behind the tender on passenger, and about 45 wagons (average capacity 10 tons) or about 750 tons on goods trains. (These wagons, by the way, are loose coupled, and have no brake-power provided to "hold" them, except it be a 10- or 20-ton eggbox. Even this seems, in the eyes of those jealous guardians of the "public safety," the railway directors, to be too much, for within the last few weeks a goods guard on the Midland Railway was dismissed for refusing to take a train with insufficient brake-power, according to that company's own rules. To have taken the train would have directly affected the driver in working it, and woe betide him if he lost control over it.)

We must now consider the "homework" a driver has to do to properly work his train. He has an Appendix consisting of about 1,200 pages, with the working time-table, which he must know—for he dare not take his eyes off the road while he is running. Weekly notices are issued to him in reference to any alterations of signals and repairs to the road, and he must be prepared to act on them. Many a "day off" of a driver is taken up in learning all this printed matter, which is, in effect, part of his work, and for which he receives nothing.

At the commencement of these articles I stated that in order to cope with the dangers of their calling all men of the running department should be assured of a decent living, decent conditions, perfect machinery, good education, and encouragement. All this is essential to making a man thoroughly efficient. But all, alas! is sadly lacking.

We must not, however, forget the Rule Book, containing over 260 rules, which it is imperative to know.

Still now the signal is "off," the flag waved and whistle blown and we are on the move. Through rain, snow, fog, wind, and boiling sun the frail hero is now "doing his duty," ever mindful of what he has behind him, and knowing only too well what it means if he does not get over the road to time—at speeds which are sometimes criminally excessive. But we are a queer people in a queer system.

Besides driving his own train the driver must be prepared to safeguard trains travelling on the opposite road (Rule 191c), and occasionally to assist the fireman, either manually or *vivaciously*. He must make no "unnecessary" noise in the working, nor must smoke be emitted from the engine, for either of these offences are rewarded with a fine or suspension, and in the case of smoke it falls on the fireman as well, for "being concerned with driver in making a smoke when working train" ("British Locomotives," p. 346.)

Let us look at this man, whom we perhaps have seen with a pipe on as he sits down for a minute or two before running something like 350 miles. Upon his presence of mind and vigilance depends the safe running of the train, and one would think that, to keep him fit for a task that must tax him to the utmost, he above all men would be assured of decent conditions, pay, and rest. But far from this is the case.

The driver's hours are ten, and there is plenty of overtime. And besides being "in steam" at home, for which he is not paid, he is a victim of "lodging out."

It will be quickest, perhaps, to describe a driver's day's work. His first duty is to "sign on." He must then read the notices—whether they concern him or not he must read and know them—and sign a book saying that he has read them. He then proceeds to get his engine ready. "Everything that could possibly go wrong must be examined" ("British Locomotives," p. 348). At the same time he must oil the whole of the working parts. Often he must make a shunt to get water and coal. Having done all this, he "whistles up," and goes right away to back on to his train at a terminus or wait for it at a roadside station.

From signing on to "right away" half an hour is allowed (in the interest of safety) which is far too short a time in which to do the work satisfactorily on the big engines of to-day. This is well known to the officials, as Mr. Bowen Cooke says that the statement that the firemen should come on before booked applies equally to the drivers. ("British Locomotive," p. 383.)

From the time of arriving on the shed half an hour is allowed to get clear away and "book off," but it usually takes nearer an hour.

Such is a very brief outline of a day's work on the footplate. The number of hours worked by a driver in a week actually on the job amounts to anything between 60 and 80, to say nothing

of the work of memorising he has to get through at home.

Now a word as to the pay. "Spare" drivers, as a rule, get 6s. 6d. per day, and when firing 6d. less. The "registered" driver usually starts at 6s., and continues at this for three years or so, until he has advanced to occasionally getting a "running" job. Many companies then "bracket" the pay of drivers. If a "bracketed" man runs six miles he is entitled to 7s. a day; if he runs less he only gets 6s. And, needless to say, the mileage is made up as a rule so that he only gets the 6s. I know of a case where one mile is deliberately cut out of the mileage table in order to "dish" drivers out of 1s. a day. From A to B is three miles, but the return trip over the opposite pair of rails is only given as two, so the driver making that journey, though he actually runs six miles, is only allowed to book five!

Generally when a man is properly "on the road" (i.e., does little or no shunting), his wage is 7s. a day. Occasionally 8s. is the highest wage of a main-line driver in this country, and this, with all expenses to be paid, including "lodging"

the conditions of labour of the men upon whom the safety of those using the railways depends constitute a public scandal. But there is still more speeding-up in the air so far as the Loco. Dept. is concerned, which will make railway travelling still more dangerous. And until the railway magnates, together with all other property owners, are dispossessed, and the railways, together with all the other means and instruments of production and distribution, become socially owned, profit will be the first consideration, and the public welfare and safe services quite a secondary matter. J. SEVIER.

(To be Continued.)

SOCIALISM V. SECULARISM.

It will be remembered that during the time the "Daily Standard" was carrying on its campaign against what it euphemistically called "The Red Peril," the S.P.G.B. was mis-represented by a holy leech as being Atheistic first and Socialist afterwards. Of course, the Socialist Party at once and rightly repudiated the allegation; but in view of the fact that this lie of the reverend gentleman is widely accepted as the truth, and that it is being persistently circulated both by the enemies of Socialism and the ignoramuses of Secularism, each for purposes of their own, it is thought advisable to set out in plain and unmistakable language the attitude of the S.P.G.B. towards the movement known as

ATHEISTIC SECULARISM.

In the course of a debate (Cohen v. Gun) on the subject of "Theism v. Atheism," a prominent speaker for the National Secular Society pointed out that "Theism is always, in the ultimate, merely an expression of some theory of the origin of the Universe." No doubt he was quite right in making this assertion, for the moment Theism ceases to be so characterised it becomes meaningless and loses its *raison d'être*. It is in this connection alone that it can be judged on its argumentative merits or demerits. For this very reason, however, Atheism, its antithesis, finds itself, as a philosophy, within the same groove, merely representing antagonistic views on this specific subject and this alone.

In the first part of Herbert Spencer's "First Principles" we find Atheism and Theism, as he conceives them, dealt with in an impartial and masterly way. All the arguments that may be deduced in support of either contention are clearly set forth, dissected, and analysed; and while showing the fallacies and the self-contradictory nature of the Theistic mode of reasoning, he proceeds to show that Atheism, as a reasonable hypothesis accounting for the origin of the Universe,

CANNOT BE ACCEPTED,

not on the ground of improbability, but of inconceivability.

Speaking of Theism as a theory of the Universe Herbert Spencer writes:

"To conceive existence through infinite past time implies the conception of infinite past time, which is an impossibility. To this let us add that even were self existence conceivable it would not be an explanation of the Universe. No one will say that the existence of an object at the present moment is made easier to understand by the discovery that it existed an hour ago, or a day ago, or a year ago; and if its existence now is not made more comprehensible by knowledge of its existence during some previous finite period, then no knowledge of it during many such finite periods, even if we could extend them to an infinite period, would make it more comprehensible. Thus the Atheistic theory is not only absolutely unthinkable, but even were it thinkable, would not be a solution. The assertion that the Universe is self-existent does not really carry us a step beyond the cognition of its present existence, and so leaves us with a mere re-statement of the mystery."

Evidently the representative of the National Secularist Society was fully aware of this, for he was careful to point out that: "It is the

SOLE BUSINESS

of Atheism to analyse theistic arguments and to reject them if they prove unsatisfactory on account of the contradictions which they imply."

It will here be noticed that no alternative hypothesis is offered.

The above admission (from which there appears to be no escape) by the aforementioned speaker—probably the most capable man in the ranks of Atheism, explicitly excludes that philosophy from dealing with anything outside theistic controversies, and although it may be contended that Secularists do extend their activities in other directions, yet an impartial examination of the attitude they adopt and the propaganda they advocate, will show that as far as the real, vital, and fundamental issues are concerned, they are as indifferent or as reactionary as the Theists they oppose.

The economic and political aspects of society are either rigidly kept out of their discussions or are considered as of little or no importance in comparison with Secularism. Thus, in spite of his profession of determinism, the Secularist utterly fails to understand that religious ideas, like his own—like all ideas, in fact—are determined by the conditions of society.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS,

and are therefore nothing but the results of such conditions.

What are those conditions, and how are they characterised?

These are questions which have no weight in the propaganda of the Secularist. To the Socialist the solution of these problems are of extreme importance, because it carries him to the very foundation of society. It breaks through the veil of idealism and enables him to see what lies behind the scenes. Such a solution affords the only explanation of the rise of and the course followed by ideas, and therefore of intellectual development. The conception of history, from the materialist point of view, is based upon the fact that before we can think and have ideas, we must have food, clothing, and shelter. How they necessities of life are produced and distributed determines in general what the people of an epoch shall think and shall strive for. In other words, ideas are subservient to economic forces. Further, these economic forces constitute the centre of gravitation of political activities; whether the manner in which the necessities of existence are produced and distributed shall be preserved or abolished constitutes the object of those who endeavour to capture political power.

Thus it is that legislative measures, enacted or in the process of being enacted, no matter what aspect they may present, always find their root-motive in

MATERIAL ADVANTAGE

and are subservient to the basic principle of modern society, viz., private property.

The Secularist or pseudo-materialist places the cart before the horse in true Christian fashion. He is much more interested in effects than in the causes that produce them. Although, as we have already seen, and on their own admission, Atheism can only stand as a negation of fallacious theistic ideas, the Secularists nevertheless regard it as a basic principle upon which they proceed to elaborate a certain plan of conduct and to derive from it their conceptions of "right" and "wrong," "justice" and "injustice," "good" and "evil," and various other forms of morality. They assert that man is the creature environment and circumstances, and yet they disregard the material factors which govern the society upon which they propose to govern!

One thing reigns supreme: the grim class struggle.

The question as to how parasites shall continue to live and workers be exploited along aways the destinies of millions to day; and the simple and only question regarding the destinies of millions to-morrow is as to how parasites shall be swept out of existence and workers be free. This abolition of the parasites, this freeing of the workers, is the object of Socialism. The Socialist cares little for a world of ideas whereby workers are enslaved. When the workers come into their own they will have a

HOPELESSLY DIVIDED.

One finds all shades of opinions among them—similar opinions, in fact, to those held by the very people they are out to attack. Such are the "refreshing fruits" of their so-called "philosophy"! Such are the people who parade their propaganda under the name of Materialism, while they attribute their unbeliefs to the triumph of Reason! They do not realise that such an expression is just as illogical and just as silly as any that ever flowed from the lips of a Christian. By this they imply that Reason is something transcending all laws, something beyond the scope of cause and effect, whereas, it being only a function of the brain acting in accordance with acquired experience, it cannot be conceived as triumphing over anything. One might as well talk about the wetness and ponderousness of water

triumphing over oxygen and hydrogen.

The fact is that the Secularist will not stone for his sins, so a scape-goat is to be found, and he finds it in the shape of Reason.

This simply tends to show that atheistic Secularists are people who have extricated themselves from one superstition to embrace another. As the Socialist Party points out in its pamphlet "Socialism and Religion": "The bourgeois freethinker is, like the Christian, attributing miraculous powers to the

FIGMENTS OF MEN'S BRAINS."

Now, in the face of this it is obvious that the attitude of Socialists toward Secularism must be identical with that they assume towards religion: it must be one of uncompromising antagonism. Neither of them explain the bed-rock basis of society; neither of them are concerned with the cause of increasing wealth in one section of the community at the cost of the perpetual and ever increasing poverty of the other section. These things are outside the sphere of activity of their respective philosophies.

While the Christian from his abysmal ignorance tells us that men must be born again before they may be able to change and improve society, the Secularist believes that social evils find their immediate cause in the existence and influence of religion! In his study of history he sees nothing but the evil deeds of priesthood. Deeper than this he does not go and does not

WISH TO GO.

Thus his so called philosophy is not unlike the Hindu theory of the earth resting on the back of an elephant, itself standing on a tortoise, and then—nothing except his triumphant Reason!

While the Theists and the Atheists are wasting their time and energy on things that do not matter, while academic discussion affords sport for their intelligence, there is a situation the gravity of which increases in intensity as each day passes. That situation is that the producers of the world are poor because they are robbed; they are robbed because the means of wealth production are private property owned by those who have political power. What matters it to the worker whether his master imposes upon him atheistic ethics or Christian morality? In either case is his misery more bearable? Is his insecurity lessened? Does his worry and care for the morrow leave more room for the peaceful enjoyment of life? Obviously no!

In the sphere of politics there is nothing to distinguish the bourgeois freethinker from the Christian. Both are to be found in the same camp, lending their efforts to the work of representing and oppressing the working class. The J. M. Robertsons, the Greenwoods, the Haldanes and the Mozleys are engaged in an unholy alliance with the Asquiths, the Isaacs and the Lloyd Georges. In France the Briands and the Clemenceaus are against the working class. In Portugal the Positivist legislators are

FILLING THE PRISONS

and are subservient to the basic principle of modern society, viz., private property.

The Secularist or pseudo-materialist places the cart before the horse in true Christian fashion. He is much more interested in effects than in the causes that produce them. Although, as we have already seen, and on their own admission, Atheism can only stand as a negation of fallacious theistic ideas, the Secularists nevertheless regard it as a basic principle upon which they proceed to elaborate a certain plan of conduct and to derive from it their conceptions of "right" and "wrong," "justice" and "injustice," "good" and "evil," and various other forms of morality. They assert that man is the creature environment and circumstances, and yet they disregard the material factors which govern the society upon which they propose to govern now?

The difficulty is not that there is a shortage of fish, but that there is too much fish. Why, then, take the plaece from one place and place it in another place to make it grow quicker? It is only for manure or to be thrown into the sea at the finish. Human ingenuity within the limits of capitalism cannot devise a means of selling fish or anything else at a profit at a price that eliminates profit. And we are grateful to learn that it is to the business people we owe our supply of fish. The business people are, presumably, the manipulators of the market, the owners of the fleets, and the shopkeepers—the people who decide how much to market, how much to use for manure, and how much to put back in the sea. We should have thought in our simplicity, not belonging to the C.O.S., that we were indebted to the men who caught it—the men who, at great risk of life and limb, issue from every nook and cranny along the coast-line to catch fish—fish being a food, and men having been fishermen ever since they shed the simian tail and came down out of tree-tops.

The report of the discussion at the Council of the C.O.S. in the "Daily Telegraph" does not tell the conclusion that body came to on what it calls "a vexed question." The disputants took two sides, one claiming that articles were sold cheaper to poor people, the other claiming that there was no selling at lower prices except to get rid of surplus stocks. It would seem in the face of it the latter must be more correct or there would be no necessity to destroy the surplus. There is no doubt plenty of demand—hungry

WORLD OF IDEAS

of their own. In the meantime, let it be noted that the Socialist looks upon Theism and Atheism, Secularism and Christianity, as so many red herrings drawn across his path, as so many Will-o'-the-wisps which disappear one by one as he travels towards his emancipation.

M. J. LE CANT.

August, 1913.

THE C.O.S. AND FISH.

—o—

THE question of the price of foodstuffs, we are informed, was dealt with by the Council of the Charity Organisation Society in a discussion raised by the reading of a paper by the Rev. J. C. Pringle. It turned upon the effect on prices of a large supply of fish and the necessity of keeping prices up by destroying part of the catch.

When a Socialist agitator makes it a point in the indictment of capitalism that a portion of the wealth produced must be destroyed to keep up the price of what is left, he is accused of exaggeration—or worse. Yet the reverend gentleman takes the acceptance of his statement for granted.

"At present, part of any great catch was thrown into the sea to prevent a fall in prices. It was too great a risk to sell it as manure. Yet it was admitted that each fall in price brought out an army of customers, who could not, or would not, pay a high price. Social workers ought surely not to rest until they had satisfied themselves that everything had been tried which might obviate the necessity of throwing fine food into the sea within sight of hungry people."

And there is no plainer or more direct condemnation of this ridiculous system called capitalism than this plain fact. Fish is most frequently the commodity dealt with in this way, but it is by no means the only one. Fruit and agricultural produce is similarly treated—fruit being allowed to drop and rot upon the ground when the market price is not high enough to pay for picking, packing, and marketing. And while the products of the land are so treated, we have alleged democratic agitations to get back to the land, and prominent statesmen drawing lurid word pictures of the town-dwellers scrambling after smallholdings, and bits of dirt generally.

But while fruit is very nice in season, and dropped fruit may be tolerated sometimes, it cannot be accepted as a staple article of diet all the year round. The effect produced on the market by the multiplication of fruit growers, what time fruit won't pay for marketing, may be imagined but cannot be described.

To return to our muttons—or our fish—the effect of this on the fish market would be similar.

"Applied science was coming to the aid of the fisheries, and some plaice recently transferred to the Dogger Bank multiplied several times as fast as they did in the place they came from. When it came to marketing it was difficult to believe that human ingenuity could not devise a means of giving the public the benefit of great catches without injury to the business people to whom the public owes it that it had fish at all"

The difficulty is not that there is a shortage of fish, but that there is too much fish. Why, then, take the plaece from one place and place it in another place to make it grow quicker? It is only for manure or to be thrown into the sea at the finish. Human ingenuity within the limits of capitalism cannot devise a means of selling fish or anything else at a profit at a price that eliminates profit. And we are grateful to learn that it is to the business people we owe our supply of fish. The business people are, presumably, the manipulators of the market, the owners of the fleets, and the shopkeepers—the people who decide how much to market, how much to use for manure, and how much to put back in the sea. We should have thought in our simplicity, not belonging to the C.O.S., that we were indebted to the men who caught it—the men who, at great risk of life and limb, issue from every nook and cranny along the coast-line to catch fish—fish being a food, and men having been fishermen ever since they shed the simian tail and came down out of tree-tops.

The report of the discussion at the Council of the C.O.S. in the "Daily Telegraph" does not tell the conclusion that body came to on what it calls "a vexed question." The disputants took two sides, one claiming that articles were sold cheaper to poor people, the other claiming that there was no selling at lower prices except to get rid of surplus stocks. It would seem in the face of it the latter must be more correct or there would be no necessity to destroy the surplus. There is no doubt plenty of demand—hungry

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

—o—

THE C.O.S. AND FISH.

—o—

stomach demand—for fish, fruit, and other foods; but there is no "effective" demand, no £ s. d. demand—beyond a certain limit. That limit is fixed by wages.

There is an argument that wages are rather to be measured by the use that is made of them than by their actual quantity. This argument reaches its zenith with the teetotaler—who would say that if you spent nothing on beer you would be able to eat all the fish and none would have to be thrown away. Of course, that overlooks those who merely eat fish—well salted—as a necessary preparation for preventing any beer being thrown into the sea! But the argument of the teetotaler shifts the question without solving it.

The argument has another phase, one shown during the discussion of the recent budget. The extract belongs to Mr. Masterman, presumably, but it has been cut out without the introduction being preserved. As it was received with great gusto and Ministerial cheers, it will not be repudiated:

"COMMUNITY'S EXTRAVAGANCE."

"He agreed that the evidence of the Budget provided facts for seriousness as well as satisfaction. There was evidence of amazing extravagance in all classes of the community. There was little evidence of laying up or even of anticipation of bad times that might succeed good times."

All we can say about it is that, if the argument is taken too seriously, we shall have the C.O.S. discussing "vexed questions" affecting a great number of industries, and the working class will be in the position of the unfortunate donkey who, by a process of elimination, was to be reduced to one eat a day, and who, having been successfully got down within sight of the desired end, disappointed everyone concerned by inadvertently deceasing.

Obviously, when fish is produced for the feeding of the community, the contradiction of having hungry stomachs clamouring for food on the one side, and the business people to whom we are alleged to owe the fish we get throwing it away on the other, will be impossible. If production for a capitalist market necessitates such a state of affairs, so much the worse for capitalism. It is, perhaps, too much to expect the C.O.S. and its "social workers" to view "throwing fine food into the sea within sight of hungry people" as a necessary and inevitable result of capitalist production, to be remedied only by changing the entire method and producing fish—as everything else—for the enjoyment and the use of the community organised into the Cooperative Commonwealth.

D. K.

LEICESTER—AND AFTER.

—o—

LAST month we dealt briefly with the position occasioned by the bye election at Leicester, and pointed out to the workers generally, and to the workers of Leicester in particular, the necessity for understanding their class position in society. How necessary this is has been demonstrated by the fact that a very large number of workers voted for the Liberal candidate, believing that their interests would be best looked after by the Liberal Party, and that if they abstained from voting it might be taken as "a graceless disregard of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's position."

The refusal of the National Executive of the Labour Party to endorse the candidature of the Leicester Labour Party's candidate can only be taken as evidence of their adoption of the "one-and-one principle."

The truth of our contention that the Labour Party is not independent and is mainly concerned in keeping the Liberal Party in office is amply confirmed in three recent issues of the "Labour Leader." (It is worth while to remember in this connection that it was the Liberal Government who passed the Payment of Members Bill, and, of course, £400 a year is worthy of serious consideration.)

Since the declaration of the poll we have been treated in the capitalist daily press, and especially in the "Weekly Journal of Sociology, Trade Unionism, and Politics," to yards of explanation from the official Labour Party.

The "Labour Leader" (July 13) says: "We

all want a clearer manifestation of our independence. We all want a more vigorous denunciation of the Government's tyranny at home and abroad." A letter from the secretary of the Bermondsey branch of the I.L.P. appears in the same issue, in which he states, among other things, that "the Leicester business has given us a staggering blow in Bermondsey. Our members are broken and crushed. They feel they can no longer face the enemy, as they know that the critics—men levied against the 'independence' of the Labour Party are justified after all, and that they can no longer honestly continue to repudiate the allegations. They are sick and tired of 'explaining' and 'apologising' for the Party, and the culminating business of Leicester can neither be explained nor apologised for. It can only be condemned."

In another issue of the "Labour Leader" we find a special article by Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, in which he tells us: "Our Parliamentary policy is exactly that which the most revolutionary Socialist Party would adopt if it had 40 members in the House of Commons in the year of grace 1913." This is, indeed, nonsense. When the workers become class-conscious they will reject the Labour Party for the spurious body of rogues and fools that it is. Understanding what they want, and having sent 40 members of "the most revolutionary Socialist Party" to the House of Commons, it is certain these representatives would have to carry out the instructions of the workers who had sent them there. Knowing that they were sent with specific instructions they could not play a two-handed game, and we should not witness that sorry spectacle which the Labour Party has treated us to—a "revolutionary

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR AUGUST
(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	10th.	17th.	24th.	31st.
Battersea, S.E. Pk. Gates	11.30	C. Gatter	C. Baggett	C. Elliott
" Prince's Head	7.30	A. Barker	H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald
Clapham Common	3.30	A. Kohn	H. Joy	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green	7.30	A. Jacobs	J. G. Stone	A. Anderson
Finsbury Park	6.0	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	A. Pearson
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30	A. Timms	A. Pearson	J. Fitzgerald
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	H. Joy
Ilford (station)	7.30	H. King	J. Fitzgerald	A. Jacobs
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	F. J. Rourke	J. Brown	A. Leslie
" Parliament Hill "	7.30	A. L. Cox	B. Ays	C. Parker
Peckham Triangle	7.30	A. W. Pearson	C. Elliott	J. G. Stoge
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	B. Seach
Wadebridge, Edg. Rd., Islington	12.0	J. Fitzgerald	J. G. Stone	B. Young
Tooting Broadway	11.30	H. Joy	T. W. Allen	A. Kohn
Tottenham, West Green Cn.	7.30	T. W. Allen	A. Kohn	H. Cooper
Walham Green Church	7.30	C. Biggett	A. Barker	S. Blake
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	7.30	A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	C. Elliott
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	W. Lewington	F. J. Rourke	E' Lake
"	7.30	J. G. Stone	H. Cooper	A. Gatter
Watford Market Place	7.30	H. Joy	A. Kohn	F. J. Rourke

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cn. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.

WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.

THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-nd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Mossbury Rd., Lavender Hill, 8.

FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's 8.30.

SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Wimbleton Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8 Kilburn, Victoria-nd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE
193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 88 Britannia-nd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secy., care of 2, Milton-nd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Communications to Sec., 119 Second Ave., Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Suns. at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N. where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, 2nd and 4th Fridays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.

NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Ballour-nd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & rd Thurs. at 8, at 24 Middle Furlong-nd.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portobello-nd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-nd., Queen's-nd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-nd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-nd.

TOOTING.—W. Mason, Sec., 144 Russell-nd., Wimbledon. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30 at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).

TOTTENHAM.—G. P. Plummer, Sec., 45 Gloucester Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-nd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets Mondays at 8. at the Workman's Club and Institute, 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—G. Dodkin, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

Printed by A. Jacobs, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS
ARE HELD

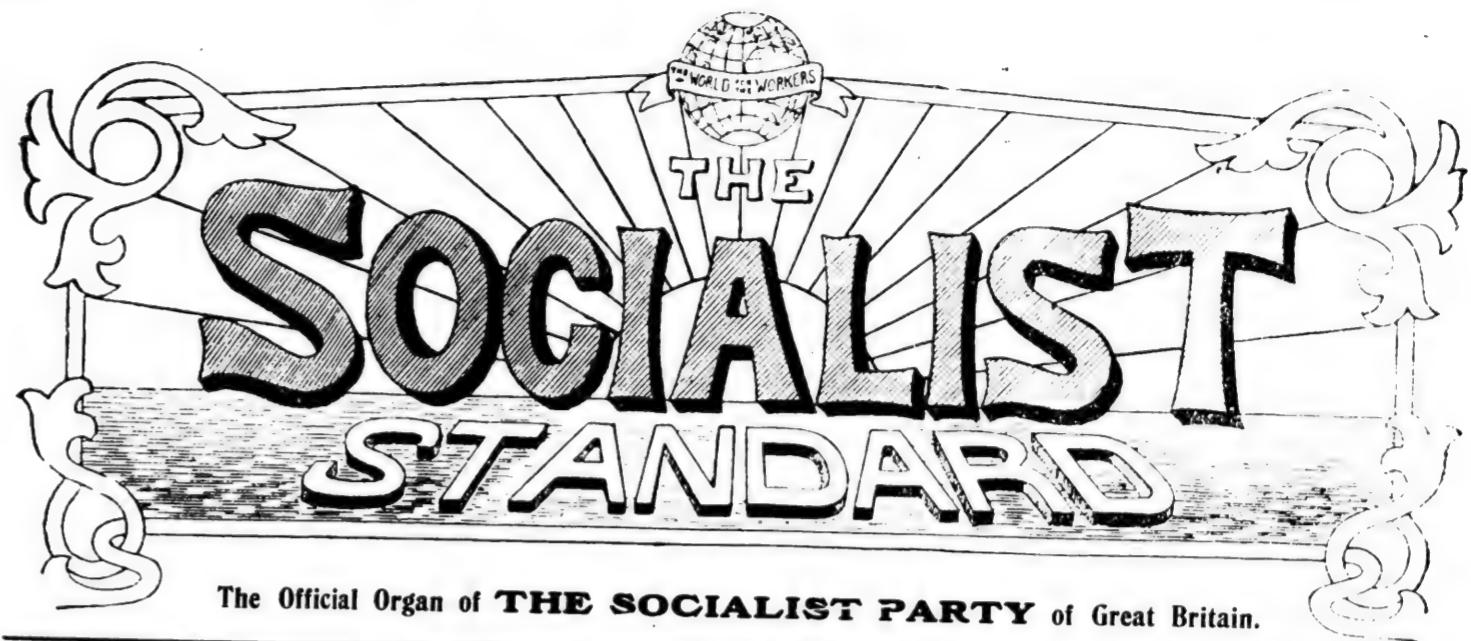
EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.
OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT

7.30 p.m.

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth
3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. - 5/6 post free.
SINGLE YEAR VOL. - 3/- "



The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

No. 109. VOL. 10.]

LONDON, SEPTEMBER 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

A POSITIVE SCIENCE OF GOVERNMENT.

A QUEER FAITH.

THE present writer has recently been puzzling his poor brains over a pamphlet entitled "An Appeal for a Positive Science of Government." If one may judge by the obvious sincerity of the author, the government is one before which all else pales. It alone affords the true solution of the greater problems of the day, and all social and political problems are wrongly treated and their discussion can merely end in words, because of their lack of positive principles.

The problems referred to are:—Votes for Women and Men; Reconstitution of Political Parties; Armaments and War; High Cost of Living.

The identity of the writer is indicated only by the name "Umano," which looks like a non-de-plume intended to express the humanitarian proclivities of its owner. He is one of those foreigners, he tells us on the last page, who feel they owe to this land a great part of their own liberty of thought and dignity of life.

I was curious to know what a Positive Science of Government could be, and after reading the pamphlet through carefully I have by no means satisfied my curiosity. It may be due to my materialistic prejudices, or my *a priori* notions. Whatever positive government is we are assured that "progress in this science of government would have suppressed the barbarity of selfishness, would have bettered human conditions, and caused those miseries to disappear."

Now, taking government as necessarily meaning the government or control of men by other men, it must ever be that the interests of the governed cannot be identical with those of the govern. When they become identical government ceases. In the historic phrase of Engels—the government of men gives place to the administration of things.

No matter how scientific government may be the selfishness and the social conditions will remain, being formed by quite other factors than the ideas or the form of government.

"It would have multiplied men of genius and produced more progress in the above sciences." The production of geniuses is a matter far too difficult to adjudicate upon in our present state of knowledge, and can only pass as a pious belief of the author's, probably fathered by the wish

"The science of Government is the one that alone remains empirical amidst all the sciences which have become even more positive." The distinction here drawn between empirical and positive science is itself unscientific. The empirical is a necessity to the most positive science, and is not an incompatible form of that science. "The science of government still remains on the level of alchemy and astrology," and we are enjoined, after being converted to positive science of government, to do for empirical government what chemistry and astronomy did for

alchemy and astrology. But astrology is not empirical and alchemy is not empirical. These ideas rest, not on experience and experiment, but on assumption. Astronomy is built necessarily on the empirical observation of phenomena, and consists of the laws derived from an investigation into the causes producing the phenomena so empirically observed. It becomes positive as those laws can be verified by further observation and experiment. So with this alleged science of government. To be scientific it must be built upon a science of sociology, which is truly the most backward of sciences.

But this is not due to the fact that men cannot take the same detached and disinterested point of view on social and sociological matters as they can on physical or biological questions? Even in biology the innate conceit of men hampered the due placing of mankind in that place in nature plainly indicated by science, showing how, even in that matter, the dissociation of the individual mind from the supposed interests of his kind operated—it may be unconsciously. And if that be so in biology, how much more so will it be in sociology. The sarcastic remark is attributed to Hobbes that even the axioms of geometry would be disputed if men's passions were implicated in them.

Throughout the "Appeal" there runs the philosophy of the Radical of an earlier day—the idea that society grows upon and is shaped by the governmental and parliamentary conditions imposed upon it. It is this idea that lies behind the statements quoted above: that selfishness and misery would disappear and geniuses appear, with a scientific form of government. This idea is opposed to the Positivism of Comte.

As evidence of the unscientific nature of government to-day is quoted the contradictory meanings ascribed to such terms as *right, duty, law, justice, liberty, force*, etc. But this is due to the antagonisms between ruler and ruled and the economic interests they represent. He says that in the Portuguese "Revolution" the *force* of the *military* was used by the Republicans in opposition to *oaths of allegiance* and to *laws*, and would be similarly used by the Monarchists if they saw the opportunity of successfully bringing off a counter revolution. He says further: "Something similar is happening as regards Socialism. Because Socialists expect some day to be able to take away by *force and justice*, the wealth of the capitalists." And so on.

The fact is that the final arbiter is not an abstract idea of justice or of right, but force and might. It may be to some extent the force of argument and the might of numbers, but its justice and legality will be decided by the dominant majority.

Umano comes to the conclusion that this great conspiracy of the rulers, with the help of

the school and the prison, impressed its views upon the governed to prevent them glimpsing a positive science of government. The franchise was granted in a distorted form, along with an idea of Public Right (strictly in accordance with the rulers' point of view) to give some sort of appearance to the continuance of so debased a form of government. "And yet, among the governed, rebellious spirits have not been lacking. . . . The small amount of civilisation we possess to-day, along with liberty of speech, we owe to them."

The criticisms of the "ancient and false conceptions of government" arising from the winning of liberty of speech, did not succeed in clearing them all away. This our author attributes to the "chief Socialists." These misguided individuals "had too much scholastic culture: even they were too much infected by the ideas of Public Right, and, on the other hand, they had too great a need for organisation and for taking their place as a political party in opposition to conservative repression. . . . So they turned all their new mentality to the study of economic problems, which are a very important basis, but secondary, not primary, in the science of government— and became doctrinaires of historic materialism."

The Socialists having, to the disgust of Umano, gone off from positive principles of government on an economic side line, "one hope for the positive science of government remained—the hope in the women." Unfortunately for our author and his positive science, they have gone astray also. There being no hopes left—not even a forlorn one in the children—he laboriously points how wrong the women are in basing their arguments for the franchise on the rotten principles that vitiate government and parliamentarism to-day, and exhorts them in a long speech to base their demands on positive principles of government. What these are apparently remains to be decided, for the "Appeal" finishes with the announcement that a conference for discussing and formulating Positive Principles of Government is to be held later.

I have already pointed out that Umano's ideas of Positivism are somewhat more akin to the ancient and obsolete school of philosophical Radicalism than to the Positivism of Comte. So, too, is it as far as the poles asunder from the materialist conception of history which forms the basis of Socialist politics. Comte, in explaining Positivism, made it perfectly clear that government was not the arbiter of society in the way Umano conceives. He expressly says: "It is perfectly impossible to establish any stable and general notion on politics, whilst human society is regarded as moving without free will of its own, under the arbitrary impulsion of the legislator." And again: "Authority results from agreement, not agreement from authority."

While, therefore, Comte's Positivism predicates to society a free will apart from government, Umano's "Positivism" places the will of society in the government apart from society. While Umano gives to authority the power to effect agreement through the school and the prison, Comte points out the dependence of authority upon agreement, upon that social sanction which as we have repeatedly argued against our anarchistic opponents gave birth to the vote. The agreement upon which social authority rests is as old, in one form or another, as society itself. The Council of War of the most distant time, held by the warriors of the tribe, had within it the germ of the analogous councils of peace called maybe to depose the necessary authority to the chief to perform some duty on behalf of the community. The same social sanction is glimpsed in every phase of society, the commoners' emancipation being the subject of comparatively recent history. But the agreement of the property holders of society has always had to be obtained before the representatives of society could act.

The government, therefore, has always been the political expression of the ruling class, whose economic interests would be served in opposition to those of their dependents. History becomes in this view a history of class struggles, and to-day, the working class has to sink all differences on all fields of thought or action, and concentrate for its emancipation in this last social struggle on the basis of its class interests. In political possession stand the heirs of ages of domination, the final representatives of property holding, the political consolidation of Crown, lords and masters; on our side stand the working class, the dispossessed, exploited proletariat. It is our side which has to sanction the maintenance of capitalist society, and our side does so every time of asking. Will Umano's "Appeal" help to enlighten them as to the simple facts of the case? If not it serves the purpose of the other side and must be condemned as useless and harmful so far as the workers are concerned, however entertaining and diverting it may be for the masters.

Science must always be of use to the Socialist, because science is knowledge and knowledge is the foundation of Socialism. But we are not concerned in being governed by scientific principles according to St. Umano, or by business principles according to St. Horatio Bottomley, or by anybody else's principles, because they will show the cloven hoof of capitalism at every turn. But we are concerned to abolish government altogether, and substitute that economic administration of things that alone can abolish capitalism's social problem when it abolishes capitalism, and give political expression to the interests of the working class.

The first and simplest of those interests will be to enjoy the fruits of their labour, the produce of their associated industry, the control of their own lives, and so lay a healthy foundation for a happy, because free, existence. D. K.

HIGHER EFFICIENCY.

WHAT IT MEANS TO THE WORKERS.

Mr. Chiozza Money, as a statistician, easily holds first place in this country. But, like many others who have contributed generously to the totality of scientific knowledge, he frequently misses the real significance of his own figures, or becomes confused when he tries to handle statistics for the purpose of abstract reasoning. The very simplicity of actual solutions is often the cause of his overleaping them.

"How is it that machinery does not conquer toil?" he asks. "Why, then, arises the grave and significant question, has invention failed to reduce arduous toil? Why is it that so many people are condemned to work long hours at fatiguing operations?" Mr. Money answers his own questions satisfactorily to himself in the following sentence: "The explanation is that an enormous proportion of our population is either not at work or working wastefully."

He utterly fails to see that if all these were at work producing for the market on the most economic lines, the intense competition of to-day would develop into the wildest anarchy. The simple answer to Mr. Money's question over-

looked by him is that machinery, instead of being socially owned, is the property of private individuals, who comprise a class owning, not only the machinery, but all the means of life. The question of the ownership of the machine—obviously the most important factor—does not appear at all in Mr. Money's explanation.

In a series of articles published in the "Daily Chronicle," Mr. Money successfully argues that higher wages induce greater efficiency, invention, and the application of more scientific methods. Far from denying that this increases the number of unemployed, he claims it as the natural result, and after demonstrating by evidence that the unemployed army grows with the increase of efficiency, he uses his conclusions as convincing reasons for the enactment of a minimum wage in agriculture. "A high wage is the father of invention," says Mr. Money, and according to his own statement, invention increases unemployment.

More than once have we pointed out this effect. Higher wages, whether obtained by legal enactment or by trade union action, hasten the introduction of labour saving devices of all kinds. Repeated strikes, or even the threats of strikes will bring about the same result. A two-fold advantage is gained by the employer when he introduces new methods: he saves in the number of his employees, and he sets up greater competition amongst them, which enables him to exact greater efficiency.

It is, therefore, with the "Curse of Claudio" upon his head that Mr. Money advocates higher wages for agricultural workers; like Claudio, too, he knows beforehand what the sequel to his good intentions will be. He says: "It will not be a growing industry, because each successful application of science will reduce the number of persons required to grow a given quantity of food, and as the need for food and organic materials is strictly limited, the proportion of men required to grow produce must decline."

That is true of any industry that can be mentioned; why, then, does Mr. Money go on to say: "That, of course, is a good thing for mankind, and not a bad thing, since the fewer men required for one industry the more are set free for other industries, and the call for the product of other industries is, of course, without practical limit."

The world's market, in a given period, is the limit in demand for the products of every industry, and therefore determines the number of workers to be employed on the industrial field. "Successful applications of science" have already reduced the number of workers required in nearly every industry, to a much greater extent than in agriculture, in this country. Those who are therefore displaced, either by scientific improvements or greater efficiency, actually swell the general army of unemployed. Every industry is being scientifically treated and greater efficiency is being exacted. Every industry is limited by the demand for its products. All round efficiency, consequently, means increase of unemployment all round.

Let there be no mistake as to the meaning of greater efficiency. Unless the return in products or service for the same bill of wages has increased, there is no increase in efficiency; while if the return is greater, by that much is it a pure gain to the capitalist.

Higher efficiency means greater concentration and effort on the part of the workers, and as competition among them increases by virtue of the growing army of unemployed, wages for those who are employed remain stationary or fall. Greater efficiency, therefore, means, for the working class—more work, less wages. Co-partnership and profit-sharing illustrate and prove this truth.

Increased efficiency can only be "good for mankind" when the wealth that is produced is socially owned; for the working class are in the same position as bees that produce in the summer more honey than they require, and yet die in swarms during the winter because they have been robbed. Just as the bees have learned to economise wax by substituting hexagonal for circular cells and are robbed of the results of their highly developed instinct, so the working class have been robbed of the results of their more intelligent application of labour to the production of wealth, and will continue to be robbed while their labour-power is stamped as merchandise.

The greater efficiency of the working class under capitalism means greater competition and poverty. The cry of the capitalist for increased efficiency is consequently only the expression of his greed, for what the worker loses in wages his employer gains in profits. To pretend that the condition of the working class improves with greater efficiency is therefore sheer humbug.

The requirements of the capitalist class with regard to labour-power are various. The highest forms of labour power can only be produced by the expenditure of a greater amount of labour-time—by the consumption of the products of previously expended labour power—hence its higher price. Supply and demand will play the deuce with the price of any commodity, under certain conditions, and when industrial correspondence schools" and "commercial colleges" promise their students good jobs on the termination of their course, the market becomes flooded, and salaries that used to be fat fall by easy stages until they are indistinguishable in amount from wages.

Commercial education means, not higher, but lower salaries. To-day the labour of two clerks—more efficient clerks at that—can be bought for the same price as one a generation or so ago. This has been achieved by the simple process of teaching shorthand, book-keeping, etc. at evening classes and polytechnics, and the masters have been supplied with all the labour of that kind they require for the double purpose of keeping their accounts and keeping down their wages bill.

The efforts that are being made in certain quarters to compel every child to attend evening classes after leaving the elementary school, are not intended to benefit these young people, but only to place at the disposal of the masters more efficient workers, for if the working class are to receive only, on the average, just sufficient to enable them to exist, it is better for them to remain inefficient, because the price of labour-power is more firmly fixed at the cost of living. The lower the quality of that labour-power, the better the bargain from the working-class standpoint.

All the time and energy spent by members of the working class in increasing their efficiency is a free gift of labour-time to the capitalist class. All the time that is spent at industrial correspondence schools, commercial colleges, and evening classes is so many hours added to the daily toil of the working class. These hours of added labour, of course, fall on those who have imbibed freely at the fountain of capitalist promise. The lure is the good jobs the plums sprinkled here and there, rare as oases in the capitalist desert of poverty, and magnified and multiplied in every capitalist publication.

Mr. Money's claim that greater efficiency or better organisation of work is good for mankind, under capitalism, unsupported as it is by evidence or reason, falls to the ground, and when he says: "The truth is that if invention went no further, mankind now possesses the means of wealth," he himself indicts the capitalist system, with one third of the population below the poverty line.

What really stands in the way of either "better organisation of work" or a "more equitable distribution of wealth" is the class ownership of the means of life and the merchandise character of human labour power.

Until these conditions are removed increased production will only spell glut and depression, with ever-present working class poverty. F. F.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).
- "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
- "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
- "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
- "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
- "The Call" (New York).
- "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
- "International News Letter" (Berlin).

September, 1913.

September, 1913.

EXIT HELL-FIRE.

"The work of the nineteenth century in the area of religious thought has, on the whole, been destructive. Ideas that had lived long because they had been protected from challenge have crumbled under the touch of modern thought. . . . The development of modern science has profoundly affected theological thought. First in astronomy, then in geology, and finally in biology and physics, the passionate desire to understand has been abundantly rewarded. But an irrational theology cannot exist side by side with a rational conception of nature, except at the cost of a disastrous dualism."

In the above words Canon J. H. B. Masterman finally and completely throws over the fantastic superstitions that have been current for centuries with regard to our future life. Evangelists and salvation fanatics may cry "hands off the people's religion!" but Canon Masterman and the theologians have agreed, in the columns of a capitalist daily newspaper, that the people's religion must be modified. Who said the Socialist would destroy religion? The mummery from Dean's Yard is doing that before the very eyes of their congregations. For when the claim of revelation has gone, and when heaven and hell no longer exist in the minds of the ignorant, the doctrines and beliefs that replace them are so obviously man-made, so plainly the creations of our day and generation, that even those devoid of even a superficial knowledge of science should, if possessed of the power of reasoning at all, be able to see that the new beliefs and prophecies are pure inventions.

Entire agreement, however, does not reign in the camp of the experts. Some find their congregations sufficiently gullible to swallow hell-fire as crude as Milton presented it; others need to have it drawn milder. Consequently there is division, and we find the Rev. Sylvester Horne saying: "If a preacher to-day is fearless he is bound to preach moral discipline and punishment in a form which is more searching and powerful to the conscience than any mere materialistic punishment could be"; while Canon Horsley gives support to the contention of the Rev. Chas. Brown and Silas Hocking, that no ministers or people of intelligence any longer believe in a material hell, he still advises that something of the kind should be taught. He says: "While vice exists, and not merely sin; while hedonism perhaps increases; the time is not when warnings are unneeded and the prophecies should only prophesy smooth things."

In other words, although intelligent people no longer believe in eternal punishment, because there is no evidence for such a belief, it should still be taught to those who can be imposed upon—because it may keep them honest when the man in blue is absent.

The conscience of the worker—quite distinct from the Nonconformist conscience, by the way, which is only political—must be a small voice within his mind that respects the ethics for the wage-slave, as imposed by capitalism. Some of the writers in the "Daily News," of lesser calibre than the deans and canons, quite boldly declare that without hell-fire all restraint on the minds of the desperate would be gone, just when it was more than ever necessary. Scotland Yard, with all its records, police supervision, finger-prints, and photographs, is not powerful enough to cope with the desperate characters engendered by capitalist society. Penal servitude frightens some. Nonconformists—a working class infliction—would keep the fires of hell burning eternally before the imagination of their helpless victims. They claim that if the fear of hell is no longer instilled, crime will assuredly increase.

Capitalism breeds the criminal: the only question for the capitalist is how to secure his property from him. The theologian makes it his question too, because he comes in for a share of the larger plunder—the results of the robbery of the working class.

With the development of capitalism the number of unemployed increases with great rapidity. Not only so, but the low wages and rotten conditions imposed upon the workers grow more irksome and repulsive almost daily; hence the increase of so-called crime, over ninety per

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

cent. of which is directed against property.

Buckle, in his "History of Civilisation," proves from statistics that a social system that changes only slightly from year to year reproduces faithfully each year almost the same crop of death from starvation, suicides, lunatics, and criminals. When the "struggle for existence" becomes more intense among the working class, there is a corresponding increase in these cases, proving conclusively that economic conditions are responsible for them.

When this question is honestly probed, as has been so frequently done in the columns of the "SS," we find that poverty is entirely due to the fact that the working class are robbed of the wealth they produce. The self-appointed prophets share this knowledge with us, but in consideration of their salaries they say in effect: continue the robbery; we will do our best to frighten off the master class with a tale of some sort.

Some, like Dr. Garvie, for instance, expose their knowledge of the truth by their guarded language. He speaks of "what we may believe" or "what it is reasonable to believe," thereby admitting lack of evidence to prove anything, unlike the Dean of St. Pauls, and sixteen other specialists who openly confess that they know nothing about it, as there have been no definite revelations as to a future life.

The question still faces the theologian how to frighten or beguile the working class into docility. Some can be cajoled by the pious humbug that "virtue brings its own reward," while others, guileless and simple imbeciles that they are, say, with an assumption of cheerfulness and a heavenly expression that has a world of meaning say: "This life is what we ourselves make it—heaven or hell."

This, we are told, is the rationalist view. There is nothing rational in it. The capitalist who has nothing else to think about but how to secure heavenly conditions for himself and the others need to have it drawn milder. Consequently there is division, and we find the Rev. Sylvester Horne saying: "If a preacher to-day is fearless he is bound to preach moral discipline and punishment in a form which is more searching and powerful to the conscience than any mere materialistic punishment could be"; while Canon Horsley gives support to the contention of the Rev. Chas. Brown and Silas Hocking, that no ministers or people of intelligence any longer believe in a material hell, he still advises that something of the kind should be taught. He says: "While vice exists, and not merely sin; while hedonism perhaps increases; the time is not when warnings are unneeded and the prophecies should only prophesy smooth things."

In other words, although intelligent people no longer believe in eternal punishment, because there is no evidence for such a belief, it should still be taught to those who can be imposed upon—because it may keep them honest when the man in blue is absent.

The conscience of the worker—quite distinct from the Nonconformist conscience, by the way, which is only political—must be a small voice within his mind that respects the ethics for the wage-slave. It is common knowledge that in thousands of cases even men in regular work are so poor that when they take their "annual outing" they are obliged to start paying into a fund for about three months before the day appointed to provide the wherewithal for a few hours recreation.

To conclude, all members of the working class who desire a happy human life should organise with us for the overthrow of the present system of society—which means poverty and privation for the toilers and ease and luxury for the shirkers—and the establishment of a sane system in which all things produced will be for those who produce them. S. W. T.

SOCIALISM versus TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.C.
AND
Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post Free

13

The list could be extended, but this is enough for the purpose. A report of the Olympia horse show ("Daily News," June 17th, 1912) informs us how differently the master class look after their animals:

"Upwards of 900 horses are taking part in the show, and the stabling of these has presented some problems. For Mr. Vanderbilt's coaching team a quartette of sump'us boxes, with plushette curtains, silver name plates on each door, and a harness room in the centre with leaded lights has been provided. More imposing still are the stables erected for the accommodation of the 30 horses given as a birthday present to little Miss Mona Dunn, the 9 year old daughter of a Canadian millionaire. Valuable carved oak, which would excite the envy of a collector of the antique, has been used for the fronts of the long avenue of stalls, which is approached through a beautiful little garden and the courtyard of an old inn."

The Medical Officer of Health for Finsbury recently issued his annual return, which has been described as a "tragedy of poverty, over-crowding, and ignorance." We are told that in this Christian land :

"Into two houses in one district there is crowded the population of an English hamlet. Sixty-six people are herded together in ten rooms. Of human rookeries similar to these 141 came under the notice of the authorities during the year. Wives are compelled to work to maintain the home, and, according to Dr. A. E. Thomas, the Medical Officer, 'in general it may be said that owing to the father's unemployment, or owing to the small wages of the family, the mother has to resume work . . . in order to obtain nourishment for herself and the others. Even so, when they return to work, mothers may still be found who come home at meal times to breast feed their babies. Many of them are themselves underfed, ill, consumptive, . . . and for the mothers, brave and enduring, the struggle is a hard and severe one. The consequences to the baby are disastrous. It becomes ill, wastes, and eventually succumbs.'"

Here is food for reflection. While the prostitute capitalist Press are mouthing about the continued "trade boom" and repeating month after month the fact that "our" exports and imports are increasing by leaps unparalleled, the workers are languishing in ever increasing poverty. Well might they ask how the boom in trade affects them. Are they enabled to go shooting on the moors? Can they avail themselves of the opportunity afforded by modern science, and pay flying visits to the beauty spots of the world?

No, these things are not for those of the wage-slave class. It is common knowledge that in thousands of cases even men in regular work are so poor that when they take their "annual outing" they are obliged to start paying into a fund for about three months before the day appointed to provide the wherewithal for a few hours recreation.

To conclude, all members of the working class who desire a happy human life should organise with us for the overthrow of the present system of society—which means poverty and privation for the toilers and ease and luxury for the shirkers—and the establishment of a sane system in which all things produced will be for those who produce them. S. W. T.

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed.—The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C., to whom Money Orders should be made payable. THE SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free	1s. 6d.
Six " " "	9d.

The Socialist Standard,



MONDAY, SEP. 1, 1913.

THE WHITEWASHING OF THE WHITE SLAVE TRADERS.

oo

Last month I commented on the strike proceeding at that great port of the North-east coast, Hull. I pointed out the sweating and destitution prevailing there, and now I intend to show some of the effects upon another section of the population.

In February of this year—within three months of the White Slave Bill being passed—Hull was excited about the arrest of "a leading citizen," named Edward Buckton Cargill. He was the Chairman of the Hull Steam Trawlers Owners Company, of the Humber Conservancy Board, was chosen by the shipowners of Hull as a representative of the fishing trade of the port, and was appointed by the Board of Trade on the North Sea Fisheries Committee, besides holding many other leading positions in the property owning world.

He was charged with offences against several girls under 16 years of age. He obtained the services of several noted K.C.s and other lawyers and detectives to help him, and they scoured the cities to try and get master whereby the girls could be seen in the worst light—m rally. Needless to state, the girls belonged to the working class.

When the case was heard at the York Assizes truly shocking evidence was given against this great ship-owner, who bribed his poor victims with gold—wring out of the sweat and blood of his toilers. This shining light of capitalism and pronounced enemy of labour, confessed in the dock to being a married man with seven children, and said for the past ten years he had been in the habit of "going with unfortunates." When the judge ordered him nine months hard labour the poor dupes of Liberalism and Toryism thought it showed the sincerity and wisdom of our governors. But—wait and see!

He was sentenced at the end of February. At the beginning of May, or shortly after two months had elapsed, the Hull Press announced the release of Cargill on the ground of indisposition. He was removed to his home, prison life not agreeing with this tender plant. And a member of the town council ventured the opinion that if he had been a poor man he would have been in prison yet.

So once again the fraud and hypocrisy of our masters' legislation is shown.

They were going to deal with "the great traffickers in human beings." They were going to strike at "the international ring of procurers." Ah, yes! a story of going to do. When, owing to an oversight, no doubt, a sumptuous flat in Piccadilly was raided, the flat keeper, calling herself Queenie Gerald, was charged with procuring girls. In the course of the evidence at Marlboro' Street, however, it transpired that prominent men were associated with the business—and the usual thing took place.

The case came on at the sessions watered down to one of "exercising influence over the movements of prostitutes for the purpose of gain." At the police court she had pleaded not guilty, but now she answered: "Guilty!" the result being that no evidence was taken against

her on the charges made, the jury were not sworn, all in spite of the fact that Mr. Travers Humphrey, the prosecuting counsel had at the Police Court stated that (*vide* "Daily Telegraph," June 21st) "There were a large number of letters which made it quite clear that, apart from the prisoner's earnings herself, and apart from what she received from the girls, she was carrying on the trade of a procurer."

The public were excluded from the Court and the Press representatives were told they were only there as a privilege, and were to report no names and be careful not to let much leak out. They were ordered not to divulge the real name of Queenie Gerald—and all for what reason!

BECAUSE LEADING MEMBERS OF MODERN SOCIETY WERE PATRONS OF THIS PICCADILLY FLAT.

Conclusive evidence of procuring was given earlier at the Police Court proceedings, but that didn't stop the charge being dropped at the Quarter Sessions. One of the letters written to a gentleman at the Ritz Hotel ran as follows:

"Your friend wishing to meet a few society ladies, I can arrange for three on Sunday. They are the real thing and frightfully expensive. Will you ask the Prince what he is prepared to give."

A cadet at Sandhurst wrote ordering "a virgin," and offering to pay £10. The books and papers in the case revealed prominent persons as customers, and the nice appointments, the enticing aromatic baths, and the hundreds of pounds found on the prisoner proved the plutocratic nature of the clientele. The whips, birches, and canes found on the premises upheld the case for procuring, and were grim but eloquent testimony of the means that were resorted to in order to break down the resistance of the poor girls who were decoyed into that West End hell. Nevertheless, the names were suppressed, the money was returned to the prisoner, and a sentence of 3 months in the second division was passed upon her.

The poor victims of 17 and 18 years of age were the daughters of the working class, while the patrons were of the parasite, plundering class—that's all.

Mr. McKenna, the Home Secretary, dodged, lied, and evaded for the purpose of hushing up the matter. Radical "Reynolds" threatened the Tories that if they did not stop their questions the names of members of the House of Lords, dukes and the like, would be divulged. Obviously, it would be useless to call upon a proletariat that possessed no franchise, to vote their own representatives into power instead of their masters.

The orders specified were faithfully carried out under the supervision of commanding officers, and were to this effect. The commanding officer gave orders to his quartermaster to arrange with the regimental "official" to take two policemen (without uniform) and go into the villages and take from the homes of these poor people their daughters from fourteen years and upward, about 12 or 15 girls at a time. They were to select the best looking. Next morning these were all put in front of the colonel and quartermaster. The former made his selection of the number required. They were then presented with a pass or license and then made over to the old woman in charge of this house of vice under the Government. The women already there who were found diseased had their passes taken away from them and were then removed by the police out of the cantonment and these fresh, innocent girls put in their places—to go the same way home."

Another instance of the miserable hypocrisy connected with this question is the outcry raised against the employment of Jack Johnson at the Metropolitan Music Halls to give an exhibition of boxing. The music hall performers, comprising within their ranks a very large number of regular devotees of the Divorce Court, are dismayed at the idea of a "wicked black man" going on "our boards." The Press and the Parsons, of course, are wrath at the suggestion, and the music halls are in a hurry to explain that they only put on what will draw the full houses—they are not concerned with moral questions.

Jack Johnson has offended against the White Slave laws of America by being a black man and taking a white girl from one state into another. He has appealed against his conviction, but the appeal has not yet been heard.

In the first place the white (or green) Britishers don't like the black man who dared to defeat a white—the best white they could put up against him—and thus destroyed for ever the axiom that one white man is worth Christ knows how many "niggers." In the second place the Marie Lloyds and the Alec Hurleys object to competition from outside, especially from such an immoral quarter. Thirdly, the opportunity served excellently the purpose of reviving the old hatred of colour against, and thus checking in some measure the growing ideas of class against class.

As in South Africa, the old story of the dangers of white women from black men. But no word about the dangers of coloured women from white "men." How often must we tell the

story of the organisation of the traffic in Indian female children for the purpose of being confined in Government brothels for Army officers and others in the glorious British garrison in India. Talk of the colour line—what shall be said of the taking of Indian girls, mere children of 14 years of age, for the robust British soldier? What shall be said of these young girls being confined in guarded compounds, licensed, priced, examined weekly and thrown on the scrap heap when disease makes its appearance (as, with such a clientele, it soon must) to make room for fresh captives?

Those who seek the evidence may refer to the secret Circular Memorandum No. 197 of 1886 sent out to every quartermaster in India with the consent and in the name of the Commander-in-chief, Field Marshal Earl Roberts.

In that official document the commanding officers are thus instructed:

"In the regimental bazaars it is necessary to have a sufficient number of women, to take care they are sufficiently attractive, to provide them with proper houses, and above all to insist upon means of ablation being always available."

"If young soldiers are carefully advised in regard to the advantage of ablation and recognise that convenient arrangements exist in the regimental bazaar they may be expected to avoid the risks involved in association with women who are not recognised by the regimental authorities."

The sequel to this order is graphically described in the work of the two investigators who so convincingly exposed Lord Roberts before the Royal Commission. In "The Queen's Daughters in India," by Elizabeth M. Andrew and Katherine C. Bushnell, we are told:

"The orders specified were faithfully carried out under the supervision of commanding officers, and were to this effect. The commanding officer gave orders to his quartermaster to arrange with the regimental "official" to take two policemen (without uniform) and go into the villages and take from the homes of these poor people their daughters from fourteen years and upward, about 12 or 15 girls at a time. They were to select the best looking. Next morning these were all put in front of the colonel and quartermaster. The former made his selection of the number required. They were then presented with a pass or license and then made over to the old woman in charge of this house of vice under the Government. The women already there who were found diseased had their passes taken away from them and were then removed by the police out of the cantonment and these fresh, innocent girls put in their places—to go the same way home."

Twelve years after the Roberts circular was sent out Sir Geo. White, his successor, issued another private Army order (C9,025), in which he confessed some of the effects upon the soldiers, but no word about the devastated children of the Indian peasantry.

Speaking of the specific disease affecting 22,702 soldiers in 1895 he says: "During their short time of service a great part (in some cases more than half) of their time has been spent in hospital. . . . Before reaching the age of 25 these young men have come home presenting a shocking appearance; some lay there having obviously but a short time to live; others were unrecognisable by reason of the destruction of their features, or had lost their palates, their sight, or their sense of hearing. . . . Not a few are time-expired, but cannot be discharged in their present condition. . . . So they remain at Netley (Hospital) in increasing numbers, which as matters now are, seem likely to continue to increase."

Thus does the capitalist system carry the glories of Christian civilisation to the poor peoples of the East. When the Revs. Meyers and the Non-conformist as well as the Conformist conscience cry out about the black peril, let them remember what goes on where the British flag flies over dark-skinned subjects. Let them understand that their snivelling hypocrisy is seen to be of a part with the shams and make-believe practised by the class that makes prostitution by its fearful exploitation, and then patronises it with its ill-gotten spoils. A. K.

The receipt of a copy of this journal is an invitation to subscribe.

THE ETERNAL HOW.

PERHAPS no question salutes the ears of the Socialist more often than that which runs: "How are you going to bring it about?"—the "it," of course, meaning Socialism. The questioner, as a rule, expects a very exact map of the route, showing bivouacs and half way houses, together with a time-table and a plan of campaign, leaving nothing but the date to be filled in.

It is to be regretted that the reply is not so easy and accommodating as the usual questioner wishes, but surely a little reflection will show the unreasonableness of insisting on such a definite, cut and dried plan. Human society is not the same yesterday, to day, and forever. It differs not only from time to time and place to place, but many of its essentials, though constant, will have varying weights.

Capitalism may be cosmopolitan, but in one country the landed interest may be a heavy or dominant factor, in another country the industrial, and so on. So that the exact method of proceeding to the overthrow of the dominating class will depend upon the conditions under which that class hold their power, and also on the means available. Obviously, it would be useless to call upon a proletariat that possessed no franchise, to vote their own representatives into power instead of their masters. To give the silly business a semblance of reality master class array themselves under two flags, and stand as it were on either side of the workers, so that when the latter develop signs of jibbing they are distracted by first the waving of one flag and then the wagging of the other, as thus:

Workers: "Work! Work!! Give us work that we may buy bread!"

Tory Old Party: "Work? How can you expect work when you have voted for those infamous, impious empire-wreckers over the way?"

I think, therefore, it is fairly apparent that the question is too bare to allow of a standardised answer. It should rather take the form of a series of supplementary questions, as thus:

"Is Socialism possible now, at once?"

"Socialism is possible now, at once, as all things are possible, if—ah! that if—the elements needed are present."

"Then are the elements necessary for Socialism present?"

"As we contend, all except one, and that one is—a working class who want it, and who are organised to get it."

But to avoid giving this the appearance of a catechism—for all such, including Socialist catechisms, are abomination—suppose we run over the ground in a general way and endeavour to get the problem in focus.

Out of the Atlantic Ocean there arise some lumps of dirt which are called Great Britain and Ireland. Specimens of the dirt may be seen in Hyde Park free of charge, and it will be noted that trees, grass, and shrubs find it useful as a medium of growth. The railings are an alien growth having their origin deep in the bowels of this same Great Britain. More strictly, they are not a growth at all, but are fashioned by man from the raw material, from which he also fashions a variety of well known articles, such as pocket-knives, locomotives, garden trowels, and dredgeworks.

From these two small facts alone it should be plain that, with the exception of the raw materials and divine revelations, the earth is the great source of all things, the storehouse whence mankind obtain the food they eat, the clothing they wear, the houses they inhabit, and the tools they use.

Then the Liberal Old Party settles down, and when, after many moons, the workers say: "Look here, we've watched you both take turns at settling down; when do you propose to settle up?" the dear old hen clucks out: "Home Rule for the Isle of Wight!" or: "Patience, friends, let us first disestablish Pudsey."

And that is where the workers shine. Patience! Patience by the rod, pole or perch. And the only worry of the Tory old lady and the Liberal old hen is how far off are they from the bottom of the workers' patience.

We think that the existence of our party shows they are within measurable distance of it. Our patience is exhausted, anyhow. If the man who asks: "How are you going to do it?" is any good at riddles—easy ones—and has read the foregoing, he should find himself in possession of the answer.

We are going to it *with your help*—that is essential—by saying to the Tory party: "Get out!" and to the Liberal party: "Ditto." And should they pause for a reason we shall tell them: "It's the swing of the pickaxe."

And believe me, the pendulum will have ceased to interest them.

With the demise of the parasitic parties and with the workers in control of the men with the

clubs and guns, the rest would be easy. The land would be restored to its original and rightful owners, and the factories, railways, steamships, machinery, and all the other means and instruments for producing and distributing the good things society needs would be converted into the common property of society.

Then rent, profit, and interest would cease to be, and the whole product of labour would go to those who produced it, and poverty and the results of poverty would become a nightmare of the past, seldom referred to except in tones of wonderment as to the kind of creature that put up with it.

This, then, is how we—you and us—are going to do it. We are going to organise ourselves in a political party—the Socialist Party—for the purpose of capturing political power. This will give us control of the machinery of the State—including the armed forces. This machinery will be used in order to dispossess the capitalist class and forever end their rule, setting up in its place the Socialist Commonwealth.

This is how we are going to do it—come in and lend a hand.

W. T. H.

BY THE WAY.

In the columns of "Justice" of August 16th, 1913, under the heading "The Critical Chronicle," the B.S.P. confusionists are at it again. Dealing with the Chesterfield bye-election the following suggestion occurs:

"It is questionable, however, if the votes the stalwarts in Chesterfield can exercise would not have been more effective, in these special circumstances, if cast for the Tory candidate."

* * *

From the "Evening News" (August 7th) report of the 16th Annual General Meeting of George Newnes, Ltd., held at the Savoy Hotel, I take the following significant statement, made by the secretary in his report:

"There is no doubt that the advertiser realises that, whilst our publications are read by all sections of the community, we comprise amongst our readers practically the whole of the people who have money to spend on things other than the necessities of life."

"For the purposes of our business it is interesting to note that of the 400,000 adults who died in the United Kingdom last year, 355,000 left nothing, and that the other 45,000 left £276,000,000. I think I may safely say that practically every member of the class from which the 45,000 were drawn is a reader of one or more of our publications."

* * *

In the Declaration of Principles of the S.P. it is stated that "as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers . . ." In this connection it is interesting to note the remarks that fell from the lips of Mr. Josiah Wedgwood, M.P., at Southampton, at a demonstration "to protest against the killing of strikers on the Rand." He said:

"We now know what the British Army is for—to protect the interests of landowners and employers, both at home and in the colonies."

My word, Josh, what a discovery!

* * *

In Leicester, a town of shoemakers, 156 children were notified as being insufficiently school, according to Dr. Allan Warner's report to the Education Committee ("Daily Citizen," July 28, 1913).

* * *

We have heard so much rot from that enemy of the working class, Mr. Lloyd George, that it is astounding that anyone can now be found to take him seriously. In 1909 he was going to take us to "fields of waving corn," but in 1913 he tells us at Sutton-in-Ashfield that, in the words of the old song, "we've got a long way to go."

"I have never," he said in conclusion, "proposed that this Act is going to remove all the social and economic evils which oppress the people, to remove the mischief at the root of our social condition. There is much more to be done before undeserved poverty and privation is chased out of this proud country."

THE SCOUT.

"SHOULD SOCIALISTS AFFILIATE WITH THE LABOUR PARTY?"

A DEBATE upon the above subject was held at the King and Queen Assembly Rooms at Brighton on 25th July.

A local celebrity, Mr. Winchester, took the chair, and introduced what he called "the two gladiators" to the audience. Mr. J. Ingham (I.L.P.) took the affirmative, and Mr. J. Fitzgerald (S.P.G.B.) the negative.

In opening the debate MR. INGHAM said the subject was not what was Socialism, nor even whether the legislation supported by the Labour Party leads to Socialism, but whether Socialists should affiliate with that party with all its shortcomings.

For the sake of clearness, the speaker went on to say, it would be as well to state that Socialism implied three changes—economic change, political change, and mental change. That was the theory or aspiration of Socialism. In practice it meant the revolt of the masses; but this revolt must have power behind it, and this power was both economic and political.

The power behind the vote was the power of nomination, which the working class have only had in late years.

As far as the capitalist class were concerned the S.P.G.B. or I.L.P. or B.S.P. didn't matter much, and the only menace to the rulers in society to-day were the Labour Party. They were demanding the right to manage affairs for themselves. It might be true that they were not doing this in the best way from the standpoint of the Socialist, and he did not uphold the part played by the Labour Party in the House of Commons, but they represented the social consciousness of the trade unions, who laid down the policy of the party.

The Labour Party consisted of the I.L.P. and the Fabians—who formed the intellectual Socialist wing—and the mass of the organised workers. In all historic movements the intellectuality followed, it did not lead, the movement.

The question the Socialist had to face was, should he help the movement of the organised workers—the Labour Party—by being inside, or should he play the part of the so-called intellectual and stand outside on a mountain criticising and carping at their actions. Despite all their shilly-shallying and support of the Government the Socialist should be inside, doing his best to help it and to help it to take the right road.

The Revolution would be carried out by the workers becoming class-conscious and taking hold of political power to overthrow their rulers. In this connection he would point out that there had never been a traitor in the House of Commons. Every member there represented the views of those who sent him there. No member of the Labour Party could represent others than those who sent him to Parliament.

Intellectual Socialists should be inside of the Labour Party, guiding it by getting hold of the reins for that purpose. (Bell rang.)

MR. FITZGERALD said one fault he had to find with his opponent's definition of Socialism was the order in which the changes were placed.

While the working class accepted "leaders" they would always be misled. It showed that they had not yet reached that stage of class consciousness that was necessary for their emancipation. When they became Socialists they would abolish "leaders" and "leadership," and keep control and power in their own hands.

Mr. INGHAM in his second speech said it appeared to him that the philosophy of the S.P.G.B. had changed since the issuing of their pamphlet on "Socialism and Religion" according to Mr. Fitzgerald's statements. There they laid down the materialist conception of history as their basis, while his opponent took up the idealist position. He was beginning to believe the S.P.G.B. had no intellectuality.

His opponent had said that the revolt must have power behind it. Exactly. But what power? What must it consist of? To answer the question it would be necessary to examine the power in the hands of, and used by, the present rulers. The working class to-day were in want and misery because they had no access to the means of life except by permission of the master class. How did the master class retain their possession of those things? Leaving out the various secondary agencies, the essential force came to the front when any big dispute occurred, as a railway strike, a miners' or a transport strike. Then the army and navy and the judicial machinery were used, rapidly and ruthlessly, against the workers.

These forces received their instructions from

the War Office, Naval Office, Home Office, etc., but the officials in the departments were appointed by the House of Commons, and this was done without any reference to the House of Lords, showing the character of the Labour Party's campaign against that institution.

Hence the capitalists must have control of Parliament for the purpose of using the armed forces for the preservation of their property. To get this control they must be voted into Parliament.

The people possessing the majority of the votes were the members of the working class. Hence the political promises, the election red herrings, and the buying of the "leaders" of the working class when elections were on. The capitalists clearly saw the importance of political power, and spent millions to obtain it.

Where did the Labour Party stand in this connection? They acted as decoy ducks to the capitalist class. From their first formation to the present day they had refused to lay down any principles or policy in the interest of the working class. The Socialist Party's Manifesto gave numerous instances and proofs of their treachery, but one or two cases having a particular bearing on his opponent's statement would be useful.

In 1906 a group of nearly 40 "Labour" leaders were returned to Parliament with the help of the Liberal Party. So much were they really part of the Liberal party that when, a little later, a bye-election took place at Leicester, the Labour Party dared not contest the second seat. The same thing occurred at Newcastle, but it was left for the January 1910 general election to completely pull the veil away. A short time previously the Labour Party had received an immense addition to its membership and leaders by the affiliation of the Miners' Federation, yet after the election they had only about 43 seats. This result by itself was a collapse of the Labour Party, but worse than this had happened. His opponent had said "those who nominate control," and had stated that the members of the Labour Party had nominated their representatives. At the 1910 general election the nominations of the rank and file were withdrawn by the score at the orders of the Executive acting on the instructions of the Liberal Party. Again, the election had been fought by Liberal and "Labour" Parties on the Veto of the House of Lords and the Budget. When the election was over Mr. Asquith announced that the Veto question would be deferred until after the Budget had been taken. A paper called the "Labour Leader" described Mr. Asquith's action as one of treachery to his constituents. When the matter was first voted upon the Labour Party voted for the Government. They therefore were equally as guilty of treachery as Mr. Asquith.

In March 1910 the Labour Party moved an amendment on the Army Estimates over the wages of Government employees, and when it was voted upon about 22 were absent and 15 of the remainder voted against their own amendment to save the Government. His opponent's statements on the army and navy showed how little he understood the power of the ruling class. They controlled these forces because they possessed the political machinery. When this machinery was wrested from them by the working class, how could the capitalists prevent the workers controlling those forces? He had dealt with these matters in his first speech and his opponent had not shown a single point to be wrong.

His opponent's next statement showed how completely he was misled by the Anarchist rubbish re-labelled Syndicalism, that an economic organisation can destroy capitalism. No matter what the form of organisation or how complete its membership, such a combination of unarmed men would obviously be powerless against the armed forces while the capitalists had political power.

Macdonald and Snowden may have occupied a position fifteen years ago similar to that of his opponent to-day, but neither then nor now did they take up the attitude of the Socialist Party—i.e., the Socialist attitude.

If his opponent agreed that he must get a majority on his side to get his views adopted, he was admitting the correctness of the policy of the Socialist Party, for this was their position.

MR. INGHAM in his last speech said that delegation of function was exactly the position of the Labour Party. To take up a position of delegate of the organised workers one must be in their ranks, not outside. The Macdonald crowd would be pushed aside by those inside the Labour Party, not by those outside. While they (the S.P.) remained outside their organisation, criticising and fault-finding, they antagonised the workers and had no influence upon them.

By economic pressure, not by intelligence, the workers would be forced to take control

about, and the mass would follow leaders at the period of change. But as they would nominate these leaders they would control them. The Tories controlled those they nominated. Mr. Lloyd George was controlled by his nominators, who forced him to introduce measures that threatened his political career.

Snowden and Macdonald occupied the position of himself (Mr. Ingham) and the S.P.G.B. fifteen years ago, while men like Broadhurst then took up the attitude of Macdonald & Co. to day. Despite this, Labour politics must lead to Socialism and the future laid with the trade unions.

If the majority were with him at the Conference the clique would soon be turned out. So long as the working class thought a clique represents their interests they would support them. It was because they thought the Liberal clique thus represented them that they supported them to day.

MR. FITZGERALD said that his opponent clearly contradicted himself, and in parts admitted the correctness of the policy of the Socialist Party.

The workers must be free mentally from the influence of their rulers, obviously a mental change was the first requisite. With reference to the point of the lack of intellectuality on the part of the S.P.G.B., what he (Mr. Fitzgerald) had said was that the S.P. contained no "intellectuals" of the type condemned by his opponent. To try and twist this into an admission of "lack of intellectuality" was both cheap and childish.

With regard to leaders, it was, perhaps, a trifle elementary, but as his opponent had introduced the point he must deal with it.

Under any system of organisation various activities had to be delegated to different individuals, but this delegation of function did not necessarily mean a sheep-like following, or the placing of power in the hands of the delegates. Thus in the Socialist Party certain members were delegated as speakers, some as writers, others as organisers, etc. But each and all were under the control of, and obeyed the directions of, the membership. The position of Mr. Ingham was similar to that of Keir Hardie, who stated that mankind was a herd who followed leaders, and that that was "the purest form of democracy"! That, of course, was the sort of following the clique who run the Labour Party wanted, so that they could make their bargains with the Liberals for posts and positions a la Shackleton, Cummings, Mitchell, and others.

His opponent's statements on the army and navy showed how little he understood the power of the ruling class. They controlled these forces because they possessed the political machinery. When this machinery was wrested from them by the working class, how could the capitalists prevent the workers controlling those forces? He had dealt with these matters in his first speech and his opponent had not shown a single point to be wrong.

His opponent's next statement showed how completely he was misled by the Anarchist rubbish re-labelled Syndicalism, that an economic organisation can destroy capitalism. No matter what the form of organisation or how complete its membership, such a combination of unarmed men would obviously be powerless against the armed forces while the capitalists had political power.

Macdonald and Snowden may have occupied a position fifteen years ago similar to that of his opponent to-day, but neither then nor now did they take up the attitude of the Socialist Party—i.e., the Socialist attitude.

If his opponent agreed that he must get a majority on his side to get his views adopted, he was admitting the correctness of the policy of the Socialist Party, for this was their position.

MR. INGHAM in his last speech said that delegation of function was exactly the position of the Labour Party. To take up a position of delegate of the organised workers one must be in their ranks, not outside. The Macdonald crowd would be pushed aside by those inside the Labour Party, not by those outside. While they (the S.P.) remained outside their organisation, criticising and fault-finding, they antagonised the workers and had no influence upon them.

By economic pressure, not by intelligence, the workers would be forced to take control

The great trade unions were endeavouring to express themselves upon society, and would change with the growing consciousness of the workers. Thus the railway unions formed their great combination from inside; it was not formed by any men outside. The economic pressure would force the workers to realise the necessity for the Revolution, and the Socialists should be inside, aiding this development and bringing to a realisation the Socialist hopes and aspirations.

MR. FITZGERALD denied that the Labour Party adopted the policy of delegation of function that he had described. Their policy was one of delegation of power—and this made all the difference. If a position outside the Labour Party would antagonise the workers, then opposition to the Liberals would antagonise a still larger number, as the working-class following of the Liberal Party was much greater than that of the Labour Party. And actually what his opponent was defending was Socialists joining the Liberal Party, for as he (the speaker) had shown them in his previous speeches, the Labour Party was but a portion of the Liberal Party.

Next comes the cleaning (!) and perhaps a "wash out" of the boiler—a process which, if properly carried out, saves a great deal of fuel and prevents the boiler burning away. (The general rule is about 300 miles between each "wash out," but on local engines, where there is a fire for a week on end, a proper examination of the boiler even is out of the question—to say nothing of washing out.)

Next an "examiner" (!) looks rapidly over the engine, and then comes the driver's examination. This last, after knocking off ten minutes for finding the engine, getting out and replacing his cans and tools, etc., would work out at about twenty minutes—which, of course, is quite inadequate.

After the run another examination is made as before described. Once a month is about the usual interval for a thorough examination of the engine, for which it is "stopped" for two or three days. Generally eighteen months or two years elapse between the engine being the subject of "heavy" repairs, during which period the machine has to run some 100,000 miles.

The Socialist knew the majority of the workers were still below the stage of mental development necessary for the revolution, but experience showed that the most effective method was to fight all the enemies of working class interests, i.e., Socialism, to add to the education, and so shorten the time required for the establishment of Socialism.

**PUBLIC SAFETY
VERSUS
RAILWAY PROFITS.**

[CONTINUED FROM LAST ISSUE.]

IV.—THE ENGINE.

AFTER even thus briefly reviewing the working conditions of the footplate men, I doubt whether anybody will question that the Loco. running conditions are bad, and that the "elaborate precautions" for the public safety that we hear so much about are entirely wanting. We now come to another part of our survey, namely, the machines that the men have to work.

Like the men, the engines are overworked. They are also supplied with poor coal and oil, and are nothing like sufficiently examined or repaired. The officials' motto is: "As long as the wheel goes round let her run." Let me quote the "Railway Magazine" for October 1908:

"The proper cleaning of an engine is a great help to economy. The valves, packing, tubes, and firebox do not always get examined until trouble of a serious nature exists."

This is giving the game away with a vengeance. But the men get fined or otherwise punished if a mishap of any kind happens whilst working, as I have stated before.

To show how injustice is done to the men in the way of fines for losing time, etc., I may say a lot of it is entirely due to the bad state of the engines and to the villainous coal supplied (see "Drivers in Difficulties," "Railway Magazine," November 1911).

Now we will look at the working of an engine. The first thing after being left the previous day is to have the repairs that the driver entered in the repairs book carried out. This, by the way, is done in a very loose fashion, and, as often as not, the repairs, like the cleaning, remain undone, unless they happen to be of such a nature as to almost stop the engine.

Many a time I have known defects in the

brake apparatus to be ignored for days together, as also defects in the injectors, which might easily cause trouble on the road. Frequently, too, the regulators are allowed to get in such a condition as to "blow through" very badly. Before now I have seen engines at work with loose tyres, and spring hangers almost cut away, and very often the "blowing" of glands and cylinder covers is passed over as nothing.

The parts of the machine looked after most carefully are the boiler and the firebox, but even these are in a bad state, the continual breakage of firebox stays, and the number of leaking and burst tubes being ample evidence of this.

Next comes the cleaning (!) and perhaps a "wash out" of the boiler—a process which, if properly carried out, saves a great deal of fuel and prevents the boiler burning away. (The general rule is about 300 miles between each "wash out," but on local engines, where there is a fire for a week on end, a proper examination of the boiler even is out of the question—to say nothing of washing out.)

Now the railway is a necessary institution in our modern life, and the safety of the services should be the first consideration of, not only all who have anything to do with their provision and maintenance, but also of all who have occasion to use them. Therefore we will see if any remedy can be applied, and if so, what it is.

There is no solution under private ownership except "cutting down expenses" and the extension of the "control" we have heard so much about lately. The masters have no ideas in railway working outside of this. And as for the Trade Unions, the National Programmes of 1907 and 1911 of the A.S.L.E. & F. and the A.S.R.S. (the section dealing with loco. men) was a poor contrivance, and only calculated to give the present bad conditions a new lease of life. The "four eights" are no remedy for the railway man, because they would soon be nullified by the increased cost of living, etc. Moreover, such items as lodgings and long-distance engine working figured prominently, whilst such necessary items as the fitting of all engines with power brakes—items which have a direct and vital bearing on safety—were omitted.

The Trade Unions may effect something, but they will never be able to grapple properly with the safety question, and often it looks as if the "leaders" do not intend to do so—the N.E.R. betrayal re Knox and A.S.R.S. to wit. Some of them, no doubt, are in earnest, and so are the rank and file, but they are not conscious of their position in society.

Now let us look at the claims of that nostrum, State Ownership of Railways, and see if that would solve the "problem."

We have no State lines in England but there are plenty in Europe, of which Mr. Bell, speaking of a tour through various countries on the Continent which own State lines, said they are not beneficial, either to the workers or to the public. "I am satisfied," he declared, "that bad as are the conditions of British Railways, they are far in advance of State owned railways on the Continent, and if conditions there are a fair sample of them, then save the British Railways from them." ("Railway Magazine," December 1908.)

Besides, we have an example in the frequent strikes which occur on the French State railways. For, after all, the State of to-day is merely the master class, so that anything owned by the State is just the property of the propertied class. The only remedy, therefore, is that which is proposed by the Socialist, viz., that the railways shall be owned and controlled by the whole community for their own use. This, of course, can only be accomplished through the complete overthrow of the master class and the taking of all the means and instruments of production and distribution by the community for the community. When this condition of affairs is brought about the people will see to it that the safety, both of those who operate the railways and those who use them, shall be the first consideration, far transcending all question of speed or economy.

Only when this property condition has been instituted, when there is no longer any question of "cutting down expenses" in order to provide big dividends for idle shareholders and princely salaries for parasitic directors and jacks in office, will the services be safely run and the community be able to use them to the fullest extent.

Such a condition is Socialism, therefore only Socialism is the remedy for the unsafe and unsatisfactory conditions under which the railway services are run.

J. SEVIER.

September 1, 1913.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR SEPTEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, S.E. Pk. Gates Prince's Head	11.30 C. Gatter	C. Baggett	J. Roe	C. Elliott
Clapham Common	7.30 A. Barker	H. Joy	J. Roe	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green	3.30 A. Kohn	J. G. Stone	A. Baker	J. Fitzgerald
Finsbury Park	7.30 A. Jacobs	A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 A. Hoskyns	A. Timms	A. W. Pearson	H. Joy
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	J. Le Carte	T. W. Allen
Hilford (Station)	7.30 H. King	J. Fitzgerald	A. Leslie	A. Bays
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	7.30 F. J. Rourke	J. Brown	C. Parker	A. Timms
Parliament Hill	7.30 A. L. Cox	A. Bays	J. Brown	J. G. Stone
Peckham Triangle	11.30 A. W. Pearson	C. Elliott	T. W. Allen	B. Seach
Paddington, Prince of Wales	7.30 C. Elliott	C. Gatter	J. G. Stone	B. Young
Willesington, Bally Rd., Dulwich	11.30 A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	A. Kohn	A. Barker
Tooting Broadway	12.00 J. Fitzgerald	S. Blake	B. Seach	H. Cooper
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	7.30 H. Joy	A. Barker	C. Elliott	E. Lake
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	11.30 C. Biggett	H. Cooper	C. Baggett	A. Gatter
Walham Green Church	7.30 A. Anderson	T. W. Allen	F. J. Rourke	A. W. Pearson
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0 A. Bays	E. Fairbrother	S. Blake	J. Roe
Wood Green, Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 W. Lewington	H. King	B. Young	A. Hoskyns
Watford Market Place	7.30 J. G. Stone	F. J. Rourke	J. Ward	J. Brown
	7.30 H. Joy	A. Kohn	W. Lewington	A. Jacobs
		J. Fitzgerald		C. Baggett

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cr., 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.**WEDNESDAYS.**—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30.**THURSDAYS.**—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Mossbury Rd., Lavender Hill, 8.**FRIDAYS.**—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30 Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30 Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's 8.30.**SATURDAYS.**—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8 Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:
193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 134, High-street, Battersea, S.W.**BEDFORD.**—All communications to R. T. Freeman 33 Britannia-rd.**CENTRAL.**—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.**EAST HAM.**—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.**EDMONTON.**—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.**FULHAM.**—All communications to the Secretary, at Lockhart's Coffee Rooms, Walham Green, Fulham, S.W., where Branch meets every Monday at 8 p.m.**GRAVESEND.**—Communications to Secy., 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.**ILFORD.**—Communications to Sec., 119 Second Ave., Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Suns. at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.**ISLINGTON.**—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.**MANCHESTER.**—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.**MARYLEBONE.**—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.**NOTTINGHAM.**—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Suns. at 11.30, at 37 Goldsmith St.**PADDINGTON.**—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portman-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).**PECKHAM.**—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's-rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.**SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.**—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.**STOKE NEWINGTON.**—A. Clarke, Secretary, 81, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 104, Farleigh-rd.**TOOTING.**—W. Mason, Sec., 94 Russell-rd., Wimbledon. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).**TOTTENHAM.**—W. Lewington, Sec., 86 Rangemore Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-st., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.**WALTHAMSTOW.**—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badis road. Branch meets alt'c Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.**WATFORD.**—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

Printed by A. JACOBS, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road London, W.C.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain
HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

THAT in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

THAT this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

THAT as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

THAT this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

THAT as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

THAT as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST Party of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS
ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.
OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT
7.30 p.m.

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth.
3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. - 5/6 post free.
SINGLE YEAR VOL. - 3/-

Price 6d. - - - Post Free 7d.

Price 6d. - - - Post Free 7d



The Official Organ of THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain.

No. 110. VOL. 10.]

LONDON, OCTOBER 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY?

A SOCIALIST VIEW.

WHAT is democracy?

Many people, when faced with this question, conjure up pictures of the American eagle, and think that democracy is all that that amiable bird symbolises. They imagine that a State run on the lines of the American Republic is a democratic State, that the institutions of such a State are democratic institutions, that the spirit of such a State is the democratic spirit, and that the philosophy of such a State—the "Rights of Man" (printed, of course, on the reverse side of a "green-back")—is the democratic philosophy. All of which ideas are wrong.

The common meaning of the term "democracy"—a form of society in which supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people—is correct enough as far as it goes, and is sufficient in all that it implies. But it implies something very different from the American Republic, and American institutions, and the "Rights of Man."

For supreme power to be lodged in the hands of the people does not mean merely that they are to have the widest possible franchise and equal voting power. It implies that the people are to have complete control of all social institutions, the ordering of all social activities, the domination of the whole social life. Such a condition of affairs presupposes at the very outset the ownership by the people of all the means of life, all the social products, even all the social intelligence and skill and energy.

There can be no other foundation for democracy than this common ownership of all the means of life, for where these fall into private possession social distinctions at once spring up, the owners become dominators, and it becomes impossible for the people to control the social activities—because, forsooth, they have not control of the means and instruments through which the most important of those activities—those directed to the production of the social wealth—are applied.

Notwithstanding, then, the popular conviction to the contrary, existing republics no more enfold democracy than do monarchies. Nor are they nearer to it since they are no nearer to the property condition upon which democracy must be founded.

That was democracy which existed among all races prior to the advent of private property. There the people of the community really controlled the affairs of the community, deputing functions to certain officials, but jealously keeping power in their own hands. The "little brief authority" in which they dressed their elected persons was never allowed to pass beyond the popular control. Even in the case of the war-chiefs—the direction, perhaps, in which usurpation was most likely—it was in many cases usual to elect two, to act alternately, in order that the influence of one should form a counter-

balance to that of the other.

If we cannot have democracy under the present social system, at least we may have men and women imbued with the democratic spirit. Indeed, every Socialist must be so imbued. In the light of this spirit he has faith in the capacity of the whole people to control the social system as a democracy, just as he has faith, primarily, in the capacity of the working class to institute the social system based upon the common ownership of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth.

It is obvious that the natural corollary of the claim that the working class must make these means and instruments the property of the whole people is the implication that the people, as such, and not as a few directing the many, will be able to organise for the efficient use of those instruments of labour. Therefore the class idea—the idea that the working class possess every qualification for the establishment of a democratic social system—and the democratic idea—the idea that the whole people are capable of democratically controlling the affairs of society—are intimately connected, are, as a matter of fact, inseparable.

Democracy has a philosophy of its own. This philosophy is grounded upon the exactly opposite conception to that upon which all individualist systems of thought, from the capitalist to the Anarchistic, rest. In the democratic conception the organic nature of society is the very corner-stone. Naturally this awards to the individual a subordinate place. He finds his true position as an organic atom, the product of the organic whole, and subordinate, therefore, to the social body. In the democratic philosophy it is realised how supremely important a factor in social development the mass of the people—the "rank and file" are. There is no intellectual class. The highest intellect is a social product, the result of the food, shelter, and clothing produced by society, and of the accumulated experiences for which society has paid with pain. And further, the opportunity even for such intellects to perform their useful part depends entirely upon the general level of intelligence. Just as the female blossom on the gourd vine, open before there is a mate to round her career, must die unfruitful, so the intellect advanced beyond its day must prove sterile and useless to society.

The individual, then, is a social product; he owes not only his being, but his opportunities, to society. Instead of being the "great man," to whom society owes everything, he is the creature of the social entity, without which he is nothing.

The conclusions of such a philosophy—the capabilities, the strength, and the energies of the individual are just as much the product of the social activities as are the means and instruments of production and distribution; also they

are just as necessary to the social organism, and therefore just as properly fall under the social control.

The philosophy of democracy replaces the "Rights of Man" of the bourgeoisie—which mocked humanity so cynically at the Paris Commune, and does so every day, in fact, the world over—with the "Rights of Society."

In the course of time democracy must also have an ethic of its own. What form this will take can at present only be roughly prognosticated. Just as, with all our knowledge of primitive democracy, we are unable to adequately conceive the outlook on life of the social units of those early days, so we cannot hope to understand the mental outlook of the democrats of the future.

As the Materialist Conception of History, however, teaches us that all ethics take their form from the method in which the people gain their livelihood, when the people gain their livelihood democratically, the ethic will be in keeping. Public opinion will then be, as public opinion always is, favourably disposed to the public welfare as it is conceived in the public mind. To-day this conception of the public welfare is distorted to the capitalist view of the meaning of the term; but the popular conception shapes the ethic of the day. The revolutionist requires a new ethic, and, cynical as he may pretend to be in this connection, he has got it. It is based on the needs of humanity as he understands them. When the Revolution has been accomplished, and warring interests have for ever been unified, when the individual interest, having been made one throughout the community, has by that achievement been absorbed by the community, when all the machinery of wealth production and distribution, and the human labour-power by which this wealth is produced and distributed, and the wealth which is so produced, is owned by society; when by the harmonising of social activities, and the clearing away of confusing social anomalies and contradictions, men and women come to realise through every fibre of their being that they owe every thing to the commonwealth, that without society they are nothing, that they are but cells in the social organism, on which every act of theirs has a far-reaching effect for good or evil; then the ethic prescribed by public opinion will be such as will make for the clearly known good of society.

Then once again democracy will exist in the world, and men and women, nurtured into finer feeling by that standard of conduct which holds the common good to be the highest good, will unconsciously sink their individuality in the community, and strive always for that common good, as the highest morality of which the human mind is capable of conceiving.

A. E. JACOME

THE RETURN OF GOD.

The materialism of a former generation of scientists is in the melting pot, and a reversion to the metaphysical idealism is becoming very popular and common. Philosophically we can understand and sympathise, though we may not agree with, the distinction between the idea and the thing, and the logical processes between them. Scientifically, however, we can neither understand nor sympathise, with the confusion between the matter of the thing and the force or energy it manifests.

Yet it seems to be the purpose of prominent scientists to restate the scientific proposition in terms of a very much qualified materialism. The outcome of the materialistic hypothesis is too revolutionary for our masters, and its disquieting effects have to be scotched at the fountain head.

The immortality of the soul having been shown to be incompatible with a materialistic and evolutionary explanation of life, the power of the Church as a soporific for the under dogs of this world has waned. That power can be revived only by a scientific sanction of the ideas on which the Church rests, even though the whole gamut of the Church's creed is not included. So at the British Association, the President, Sir Oliver Lodge, promulgated the opinion that the individual consciousness survived death, and was able to communicate with the living.

The phenomena of spiritualism is thus homologated, and the materialist who has insisted that the mind was of the brain, which was a purely physical organ whose functions, however complicated and obscure, were no more incapable of being understood and explained than is the process of digestion, the circulation of the blood, or any other functions performed by the various organs or collections of organs, of the body.

We do not know whether the discarnate spirit still experiences, over yonder, the inconveniences of, say, a faulty stomach or a gouty toe; neither does Sir Oliver say that the spirit persists for ever, and is therefore immortal in the theological sense.

But of even more importance than the question of survival after death is the reference to the transcendental god as the ruler of the universe. Thus the theology of the early Victorian era is restated with all the authority of twentieth century science. We had thought God and the ghosts were laid long since, and our spirit that was ordained either to everlasting burn, or to perpetually twang the celestial harp in the clouds, had passed into the limbo of forgotten penitencies along with our belief in these mythical places.

For science had laid bare the majestic sweep of evolution from the star-dust of the nebula, through the material earth stage, with its atmosphere and water complete, to the burnt out cinder stage, like the moon; had traced animal life from the amoeba to man; and generally unravelled the whole cosmic scheme. Evolution is accepted as a fact by all the scientists and most laymen, to such an extent that even the Church has adopted it and interpreted it to fit its own theories, while active opposition to the principles of evolution is practically extinct.

If evolution means anything; if the data of paleontology and of embryology teach anything; it is surely the unbroken succession of changes from the lower to the higher, culminating in man. There was a great dispute as to whether man was not a special edition by himself, equipped with something different—not in degree but in kind—from any other living being. That dispute was settled by Huxley by his brilliant and conclusive contribution, "Man's Place in Nature," in which the reasons for placing man in a group with the "Primates," and not in class alone, are given.

At what stage, then, does the immortal soul appear? Does the personality of the gorilla survive death, or does the Tasmanian aborigine start the immortals? Or is it something between these? In any case, what a fearful—almost hellish—confusion must reign "over there" if the souls of the millions of men and women, for the hundreds of thousands of years men have been on this planet keep on accumulating!

The Ruler of the Universe who made all that therein is, who "shaped the suns and marked their ways upon the ancient deep," and who finally "created man in His own image," has hitherto found no justification in science. Rather on the contrary has it been found that man in his different stages of knowledge, has created for himself a god or gods in the image of his knowledge—or want of it. And so to-day, when Sir Oliver Lodge creates for himself a god, He will be in a somewhat different image naturally from that of the Hebrew wise men emerging from the later stage of barbarism, but will have all the indications of being the embodiment of what we do not yet know. For that is what "God" has invariably represented. Backward as far as we may push the limits of our knowledge, as much as we may discover of the workings of nature, there ever remain the doubts and questionings of the enquiring mind, and that ignorance is covered by attributing the unknown to "God." At best it is a begging of the question.

The fact remains that we who are of the earth, earthy, are satisfied that sufficient is known to make a vast difference to our life here—the life of which we are certain and which we know most about the life of which we have tried to picture, and make practicable the realisation of the possibilities.

It is an attempt of our masters to divert our attention to an imaginary life elsewhere in order to cover up and minimise the shortcomings of our life here. We doubt whether at this time of day the eyes of the working class can again be directed heavenward. For centuries they looked that way, and nothing came of it. "No Saviour from on high delivers" us from our slavery here; it is to ourselves and our fellow mortals we have to look for deliverance. Science has provided us with sufficient material to afford a solution, and it now requires but the co-operation of the workers in making use of that information to solve once and for ever the social problem, through the overthrow of capitalism, and the construction of a Socialist co-operative commonwealth out of the materials collected by capitalism in its ruthless course.

D. K.

THE FORUM.

SOCIALISM VERSUS SECULARISM.

[To THE EDITOR]

SIR.—While agreeing with a good deal in the article under the above heading in your August issue, there are some points in it which seem to me to require criticism.

To start with, the title is misleading. Socialism cannot be *versus* Secularism. It is Secularism. Your point should be that it is the only Secularism. This would then place you in your true relationship with the N.S.S. The writer objects that Atheism is anything more than anti-Theism—the negation of the God idea. He will find that that is all it is. You cannot saddle Atheism with all or any of the theories of origin which do not come within the conception of the God origin of the Cosmos. On the contrary, it is only Atheism that is capable of analysing scientific ideas properly.

Neither is Atheism committed to the ridiculous position about the inconceivability of infinity. Atheists may be so committed. Atheism is not a red-herring. The need for your excellent pamphlet, "Socialism and Religion," proves this. The only virtue or utility in Atheism (and Atheism loses nothing by confessing it), that, properly conceived, it frees the mind to enter the analysis of Socialism and sociology with the impartiality and right thinking which religion prevents. Religion distorts the mind, therefore Socialism stands no chance of being understood.

Thus Socialism is anti-religious, but to say that it is the logical outcome of Atheism and Secularism is as silly as to expect a mouse to give birth to a mountain. M. J. LE CART.

That all the Atheists are not supporting the Socialist theories is no more the fault of Atheism than it is the fault of Socialism that some "Socialists" turn bourgeois in ideas when they become bourgeois in the manner of getting their living.

You may answer that these "Socialists" are

not Socialists. I offer a similar reply re J. M. Robertson, M.P., etc. Their Atheism has done them no good. The other matter raised in Mr. Le Cart's article I thoroughly endorse.

Yours truly,
THOMAS REYNOLDS.

The above criticism clearly indicates that the person responsible for it is wholly ignorant of Socialism, and consequently associates it with all sorts of concepts which are, in reality, quite foreign to it.

Our correspondent holds that Secularism properly understood is synonymous with Socialism. Not only is that statement delightfully ridiculous in view of the confusion that exists among Secularists in regard to the political aspect of society, but it is untrue.

Secularism merely represents the opinions of people whose observations have been narrowed down to one single aspect of society, viz., the religious one. It stands for "this-worldism" in opposition to the belief in the existence of another world.

Religious ideas, however, being shaped and determined by social conditions, only exist as a product of the particular social system in which they are manifested, and as such are not based at all on the existence of another world. Secularism, therefore, is essentially nothing but a futile negation; it mistakes a shadow for the thing that casts it and, at its best, only comes to the level of other organisations which are out to secure certain reforms while leaving untouched the cause that produces the very evil they profess to eradicate. Thus our correspondent's attempt to justify atheistic Secularism on the ground that "religion distorts the mind" fails to pieces, for Secularism is itself guilty of inaccurate mental vision. An examination of the written objects of Secularism as it appears in its organised and concrete form clearly shows that it attacks certain superstitions only to replace them with others just as bad and just as reactionary from the point of view of the working class. Nor is there any excuse in the paltry suggestion that it is misunderstood and ill-used by its adherents, for if it leaves room for misunderstanding and ill-use it stands condemned as a proper means of education and enlightenment.

Now, the reply to the "step-by-step and wait and see" policy of our critic, who says that Socialism stands no chance of being understood while religious influence lasts, is obvious. We submit to him that if it is possible to free the mind from religious ideas without destroying the cause that produces them, then it is even more possible to make that mind at once understand the cause of the trouble and the remedy for it. Success in the first instance would be nothing short of a miracle; in the second it is the result of a clear and simple process of education.

Unlike Secularism, Socialism is not governed by appearances, but explains them. Its policy is the outcome of an analysis of the economic forces which always lie at the base of all social structures, so that it reaches the root from which not only springs the world of ideas, but in which is also to be found the cause of all evil. These economic forces create an antagonism of interests between the few and the many, and it naturally follows that the minds of the many must be misguided if the few are to survive—hence the need for and the use of religious influence so long as that antagonism lasts. The object of Socialism is to destroy this antagonism by substituting common for private ownership of the means of life, and this transformation alone will sound the death-knell of religious influence, for the robbery of the working class will have ceased, and with it the need to subject the mind to misguidance.

Thus Socialism is anti-religious, but to say that it is the logical outcome of Atheism and Secularism is as silly as to expect a mouse to give birth to a mountain. M. J. LE CART.

Socialists are poor men and women. The opponents of Socialism usually are the rich. Do you not think the men and women of your own class, who must be poor while you are poor, may be as well worth listening to as those who can be rich only so long as you are poor?

October, 1913.

October, 1913.

THE METHODS OF THE PROFESSIONAL STRIKE SMASHER.

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

strike of a year ago. A representative of the "Daily News and Leader," after visit to Dockland, made the following statement (26.6.13):

"The distress in Canning Town is acute and wide-spread, and it is largely because the strike enabled the P.L.A. and shipowners to increase their margin of surplus labour. Where already there were two men for each job in the docks, a thousand more have come to live, to compete for the same amount of work."

To sum the matter up, the chances of even a section of the workers improving their position under capitalism is therefore seen to be practically nil—the weapons of the masters are too powerful and too easily brought into operation. The condition of the working class gets steadily worse with each succeeding year, and Trade Union action at its best (as Karl Marx points out in "Value, Price, and Profit") can only act as a brake on the downward movement of that condition. It therefore behoves the workers to give up these vain fancies and time-wasting views, and to organise with us in the Socialist Party to get control of the political machinery and the armed forces of the nation, for the purpose of abolishing the wages system, and then the blackleg, like Othello, will find his occupation gone.

G. MCATCHIE.

"THE NAKED SAVAGE."

HARD and monotonous toil, sordid and dirty surroundings, poor and adulterated food, shoddy, slop-made clothing, Jerry-built houses or tenement slum-dwellings, dull and colourless environment, close association with penury and hard-fisted "thrift," miserliness unmannerliness, uncouth companionship, endless worry and turmoil about petty things—such is the lot of the bulk of the workers within the capitalist system of society.

A

As the capitalists are not out merely to injure the workers, but to make as much profit as possible, their first act is to weigh up the gains or losses likely to be incurred through their giving way or holding out. If the masters consider the demands of their employees to be hardly worth involving themselves in the trouble and inconvenience of a prolonged strike over, they will accede to their workers' demands. But if they think the inconvenience of a fight outweighed by what they will lose by departing from the old conditions, then they will not hesitate to fight.

When a strike is declared the first act of the masters is to try and obtain other workers in place of the strikers, because if this can be done the strike must automatically collapse after a very short time, as starvation will soon compel the workers to submit. To obtain blacklegs is usually fairly easy, because capitalism, by producing an immense army of unemployed, has the material ready to hand. Men who are watching wives and children dying of slow starvation, who have tramped the streets for weeks in the hopeless quest for a job, make just the right material for a scab-hanter, although in the last resort the masters can frequently fall back upon the armed forces to act as blacklegs, as they showed at Liverpool and other places a year or two ago.

This was where Farley came as a boon and a blessing to the American capitalists. Having had some experience of strikes, and being a particularly unprincipled ruffian, he saw how he could make a fortune (which he soon did) by putting into the employers' hands the means of crushing the workers' industrial movements.

He provided the masters with a stock of professional strike breakers, specially picked men whom he sent to any part of the country at any moment, to undertake any work. By means of these any industry could be kept going until such time as the strikers were exhausted and wished to be taken back.

Where professional strike-breakers were not obtainable the blacklegs were generally imported from some other part of the country, and it was in this way that the strikers were so badly hit after the fight, for when the strike was settled the blacklegs were still kept on, and only a limited number of the strikers were taken back.

Very much the same thing occurs in England in similar circumstances, as witness the dock

the rising race enormous power. Iron tools gave man the ship; the iron ploughshare pushed forward agriculture, and gave rise to architecture and art.

The invention of writing, permitting ideas to be passed down, discoveries to be recorded, and a wider communication between man and man, was responsible for enormous progress, and finally "the discovery of a mechanical motive power capable of turning the wheel and welding the hammer gave the means of producing wealth in abundance with very little exertion on the part of the descendant of the naked savage."

The descendant of the naked savage—who is he? With all our advancement, all our marvellous powers and possibilities, we have still the naked savage with us. We have worse. The powers of wealth production are lying idle and in the midst of plenty the people are starving and naked. The modern worker not only hungers, but he hungers with succulent dainties all around him, and sees his children wither amid a plethora of good things—good food, good clothing, and good houses of his making, but denied to him and his though they perish of want and exposure.

Like Tantalus of the fable, the modern worker stands up to his chin in good things which elude his lips the moment he attempts to enjoy them, and all around him grows the fruit of his labour that he is not allowed to touch.

How foolish and absurd it is! How would our savage ancestor stare. Starvation he understood; he knew, also, what it was to be cold. But to lie down hungry beside a good dinner would be a proceeding entirely beyond his comprehension, and only to be ascribed to witchcraft and devils.

And perhaps he would not be far wrong. The working class are certainly bewitched. With the brain and muscle to produce wealth they stand idly by and allow the masters to take what they have produced. Not only so—they cringingly beg for a share and wait meekly upon the idler's pleasure. They give him their daughters to enjoy, and take up arms to defend him against his enemy—themselves.

Astonished indeed would the savage be, for he would see winged chariots manufactured by the workers and driven by them, yet used solely for the pleasure of the drones. He would see those who work the hardest rewarded with the worst accommodation, and the laziest loafer with crowds of busy men and women waiting upon him. And he would wonder, as the Socialist wonders, and wait for the toiler to end the farce—or shall we say tragedy?—by awaking from his trance.

The awakening seems long deferred, but awoken he must. Entranced as he is by the conception of private property, events will eventually force him to see how utterly foolish he is, and how easily imposed upon.

When the awakening comes there will be nothing in the way of the toiler's enjoyment. Reckoned of the vast amount of unnecessary labour that the idlers compel him to perform, freed from the restrictions that capitalism places in the way, no longer compelled to ask: "Will it profit my master?" the worker will go on doing that which will add to the comfort and pleasure of the community and sweep away poverty, misery, vice, crime, and all the evils that arise, directly and indirectly, from the private ownership by a class of the means by which the people obtain their livelihood.

TWEI.

"SOCIALISM
versus
TARIFF REFORM."
BEING A REPORT OF
A DEBATE
BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.
AND
Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth
Post-Free

1

and drunkenness; in which the pains of starvation, stunted development, and moral degradation accumulate; in which the prospect of even steady and honest industry is a life of unsuccessful battling with hunger rounded by a pauper's grave."

"The pleasures within reach are reduced to brutality and drunkenness." Is it necessary to say more? Man desires recreation and enjoyment. When he has learned to appreciate intellectual pleasures he will turn less frequently to the merely animal. Under capitalism the workers are denied the time and the means for intellectual recreation, hence their debasement.

Socialism alone, because it will give to the workers the fruits of their labour, can give them the leisure, means, and opportunities for genuine happiness and enjoyment. And even if it could be proved that under Socialism the human race would breed in swarms, still the robbery of the working class by the capitalist class would not be justified.

F. F.

BY THE WAY.

—*—

The "Daily News" (28.8.13) once again tells us how old people taking their 5s. portion of "rare and refreshing fruit," reduce the wages of those with whom they live. It says:

"A family of seven . . . five of whom are in receipt of old age pensions, are living near Redhill. . . . With the 25s. a week received from the State, *supplemented* by the earnings of the younger men, the family are able to lead a happy and comfortable life."

So the cunningly schemed old age pensions relieve the rates at the expense of the "earnings of the younger men."

* * *

Whilst the anti-Socialist is fond of mouthing the old drivel that Socialism will break up the family life, the following is worthy of notice. Perhaps it is because of the frequency of the smashing of homes and breaking up of families under capitalism that the anti-Socialist prophesies it for the future:

"John Littlewood, 59, was charged with beggaring. He was standing in the gutter playing a whistle. Addressing the magistrate he declared that wherever he applied for employment he was always met with the reply: 'You are too old.'

"I have a very good certificate here from Chatham Dockyard. I was 18 years there. . . . I had a good little home, but I had to part with it bit by bit." ("Reynolds's," 31.8.13)

Too old at 58, says the employer; too young by eleven years, says Mr. Lloyd George. This was evidently a case for the magistrate—or the undertaker.

The one, you see, can restore his "family life" for a month in the stone jug, while the other can put him into the way of having a nice little wooden hut all to himself, which he would be allowed to hold in peaceful possession until landlords are no more and bum-bailiffs cease from troubling.

* * *

The Right Hon. David Lloyd George made a speech a short time since dealing with the armament question. Of course he had to refer to "social reform," and then he informed the capitalists how they would benefit by it.

* * *

"When they came to social reform and improved the conditions of the people they improved their health and their efficiency, *purely as means for the production of wealth*. . . . It was no good saying they were spending 20 millions on insurance and old age pensions. They had got to look at the other side of the ledger, and that was worth a good deal more than 20 millions a year."

It is interesting to note the utterances of this oily-tongued hypocrite, for when he is addressing his paymasters he specially emphasises the benefit that will accrue to the capitalist class as a result of Liberal "social reform"—"purely as means for the production of wealth." Yet this is the man who, a few years ago, told us that "No one can really honestly defend the present system."

* * *

In a leading article in "Reynolds's" (24.8.13) devoted to the increase in the prices of food and

and other commodities, the writer showed the hopelessness and futility of the workers clinging to the gospel of Liberalism as a medium for their salvation. Let me quote two passages.

"In no other country has there been the same press of social reform measures; in no other country has there been the same effort made to grapple with poverty."

And again:

"In spite of all our social reform agitation, in spite of Compensation Acts, Wages Boards, Old-Age Pensions, and National Insurance, powerful forces have been at work to keep a vast mass of our people from getting away from the edge of the precipice of starvation."

What an admission of failure! Could any indictment of mine be stronger? After seven years of Liberal rule and unparalleled trade boom, a large mass are on the verge of starvation! "Were we not told by a leading light of the Liberal party 1908 that they were going to 'strike starvation for ever from the dark category of evils with which honest men and women are beset'?" Liberalism has been tried and found wanting. Socialism alone contains the remedy.

Although the circumstances are tempting enough in all conscience, I am going to refrain from commenting on the Chesterfield by-election, and treat of the position of the party as a whole, a position upon which this election throws a flood of light and provides an excellent illustration.

The Labour Party in Parliament boasts 42 members. The candidates have to be run as "labour" candidates only, and no connection with any other political party is allowed. The Labour Party is nominally as independent of the Liberal party as of the Tory party—or the Socialist Party. Yet in practice the Labour members are, for the purposes of the Government, the equivalent of Liberal members. The Liberal and Tory parties in the House exactly equilibrate with 272 members each, but the Liberals hold office with the Irish Nationalist and Labour votes.

When the Labour Party were first returned as a separate party in 1906, they sat on the cross benches, belonging to neither side, but now they sit on the Liberal side. Is this only due to the exigencies of the seating accommodation?

The late Mr. Haslam, who sat for Chesterfield, was a fully-accredited Labour member. The seat was won in what the followers of the Labour Party euphemistically describe as "a straight fight with the Tory." The value of the independence of such a position is admirably depicted by the subsequent happenings at Chesterfield and the walk-over of the Liberal candidate in spite of the official repudiation by the Labour Executive. The value of the independence of the Labour Party is also shown in the fact that not one of the 42 seats they occupy has been won in opposition to the Liberal party. Every one of their seats is held for the Liberal party, by the goodwill of the Liberal party, and it is not too much to say that the official Liberal party could claim almost any one of them in the same way as at Chesterfield. Liberal votes are behind every Labour member in the House, and his "independence" of Liberalism can be valued accordingly.

The same holds true particularly in those two-seated constituencies now held by one Liberal and one Labour member as at Leicester, Blackburn, Derby, Halifax, Newcastle, Stockport, Sunderland, Norwich, Merthyr, Dundee, and Bolton. In each of these cases one Liberal and one Labour candidate were opposed to two Unionist candidates, and the two seats are held practically with the same votes. At Preston the two unionists were successful, and the Liberal and Labour candidates, locked in each other's embrace, sunk into temporary political oblivion.

A list of the seats held by Labour men without opposition from the Liberals would exhaust the remainder of the party. In addition to those successful in fighting the Tories for the Liberals, the following, who were unsuccessful, adds to and completes the tale of Labour dependence on Liberalism. Kirkdale, Liverpool, Mr. McKerrell lost to the Unionists by 2,992 against 4,205; at St. Helen's Mr. Glover was knocked out by 6,016 against 5,752; at Central Sheffield Mr. Bailey lost to the Tory by 3,455 against 3,271; at Wigan Mr. Twiss was defeated and lost his seat by 4,673 against 4,110; and at Newton, S.W. Lancashire, Mr. Seddon also lost

THE LABOUR PARTY IN PARLIAMENT.

—o—

The Chesterfield Bye-Election has re-opened the question of the Labour Party's position as a political party. After the local T.U. official being adopted as the Liberal and Labour candidate, the prince of political independence, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, solemnly anathematizes such an unholy alliance. As the Labour Party constitution definitely states that candidates must run as "Labour" candidates only, there was nothing else the leader of the party could do but disown him who broke the rules.

In spite, however, of the repudiation of the candidate by the chairman of the organisation, its members, who are also members of the candidate's Trade Union, supported the aspirant. This offence was aggravated by the defiant speeches as well as actions against the Labour Party Executive for casting out Mr. Kenyon because he had received the official Liberal label.

Although the circumstances are tempting enough in all conscience, I am going to refrain from commenting on the Chesterfield by-election, and treat of the position of the party as a whole, a position upon which this election throws a flood of light and provides an excellent illustration.

The Labour Party in Parliament boasts 42 members. The candidates have to be run as "labour" candidates only, and no connection with any other political party is allowed. The Labour Party is nominally as independent of the Liberal party as of the Tory party—or the Socialist Party. Yet in practice the Labour members are, for the purposes of the Government, the equivalent of Liberal members. The Liberal and Tory parties in the House exactly equilibrate with 272 members each, but the Liberals hold office with the Irish Nationalist and Labour votes.

When the Labour Party were first returned as a separate party in 1906, they sat on the cross benches, belonging to neither side, but now they sit on the Liberal side. Is this only due to the exigencies of the seating accommodation?

The late Mr. Haslam, who sat for Chesterfield, was a fully-accredited Labour member. The seat was won in what the followers of the Labour Party euphemistically describe as "a straight fight with the Tory." The value of the independence of such a position is admirably depicted by the subsequent happenings at Chesterfield and the walk-over of the Liberal candidate in spite of the official repudiation by the Labour Executive. The value of the independence of the Labour Party is also shown in the fact that not one of the 42 seats they occupy has been won in opposition to the Liberal party. Every one of their seats is held for the Liberal party, by the goodwill of the Liberal party, and it is not too much to say that the official Liberal party could claim almost any one of them in the same way as at Chesterfield. Liberal votes are behind every Labour member in the House, and his "independence" of Liberalism can be valued accordingly.

The same holds true particularly in those two-seated constituencies now held by one Liberal and one Labour member as at Leicester, Blackburn, Derby, Halifax, Newcastle, Stockport, Sunderland, Norwich, Merthyr, Dundee, and Bolton. In each of these cases one Liberal and one Labour candidate were opposed to two Unionist candidates, and the two seats are held practically with the same votes. At Preston the two unionists were successful, and the Liberal and Labour candidates, locked in each other's embrace, sunk into temporary political oblivion.

A list of the seats held by Labour men without opposition from the Liberals would exhaust the remainder of the party. In addition to those successful in fighting the Tories for the Liberals, the following, who were unsuccessful, adds to and completes the tale of Labour dependence on Liberalism. Kirkdale, Liverpool, Mr. McKerrell lost to the Unionists by 2,992 against 4,205; at St. Helen's Mr. Glover was knocked out by 6,016 against 5,752; at Central Sheffield Mr. Bailey lost to the Tory by 3,455 against 3,271; at Wigan Mr. Twiss was defeated and lost his seat by 4,673 against 4,110; and at Newton, S.W. Lancashire, Mr. Seddon also lost

October, 1913.

his seat by 6,706 against 6,562.

There have been cases, however, where the Labour Party have contested seats against both parties. These cases are rare, and tend to become rarer. Occasionally the local Labour organisation take the bit between their teeth and rush into a contest either against, or with the unwilling approval of, the Centre. The nervousness of the seat-holders is increased when such a rift in the lute results in losing the seat to the Tories. Such results occurred at Crewe, Chatham, Cambrai, and Midlothian, where the "split progressive" vote let the Tory in. In thirteen other constituencies the Labour Party put up a candidate against both Liberal and Tory parties, and the Liberal was returned at the top of the poll, in every case with the Labour man a bad third.

In addition to the Labour Party as the political expression of the trade unions, there is also the pseudo-Socialist parties. Of these the I.L.P. has sunk its identity in the Labour Party, whose absorption by the Liberals involves the Independent Labour Party. The Fabian Society does not run candidates on its own, its members being occasionally found among the Liberals. The British Socialist Party had a little flutter at the last General Election, but never, notwithstanding the sweet reasonableness of the attitude they adopted, getting within reach of success. At Burnley, where the candidature of Hyndman has been pressed for many years, where the candidate was the best known among them, and where the programme was watered and coloured to popularise the candidature, the vote was barely more than half the successful Liberal's. Irving at Rochdale, although he trimmed and revised himself almost out of a separate existence, did not come within a third of the number of votes necessary.

Some excuse can be made for candidatures of the hopelessly unsuccessful class when they are propagandist, but the desire to win necessitating such excessive trimming as is undoubtedly indulged in by the B.S.P., prevents excusing them on the ground of propaganda.

The Labour Party in Parliament, which the above facts show to be necessarily but an adjunct to the Liberal party, is officered and bossed by the men who are the self-imposed leaders of "Socialist" thought in this country. Ramsay Macdonald, Keir Hardie, and Philip Snowden are the "brains" of the I.L.P. Ramsay Macdonald is the first of the scientific Socialists, for he himself has said so. He is popularly supposed to be the first example of a Socialist statesman this country has produced. Yet it seems to those of us who can dispassionately view the activities of our masters in the political as well as in other fields, that J. R. Macdonald has manifested no degree of mentality to make us wonder, nothing of faith or power to make us worship. There are many men in the ranks of our avowed opponents who could give him a start and a beating at any test of mentality, and his statesmanship is becoming nauseating even to quite loyal members of his party. So far as he is responsible for the present position of the Labour Party he has little enough to flatter himself with, except that the "new and leavening factor that was introduced into Parliament" in 1906 with such a flourish of trumpets has negotiated itself into the Liberal majority and is lost. Not a fragment remains as a memento of its work, if any, and now its power to do any thing for itself and the people it is supposed to represent has vanished with the last shred of its independence, the sooner it is decently buried the better for everyone concerned—except the members.

The sooner the working class of this country learn the lesson the dismal history of this phase of the working-class movement presents the quicker shall we have started on the road to our emancipation. That lesson, surely, is that the position of our representatives in Parliament must be one of absolute independence from any pro-capitalist party, and that such independence must be based upon their hostility to capitalist parties.

The working class, having learnt that capitalist exploitation is the source of their social evils and their enslavement, will seek to emancipate themselves and solve their social problems by the abolition of capitalism through the establishment of Socialism. Parliamentary action

THE SOCIALIST STANDARD.

must always be guided by that object, and no compromise with the enemy is possible or desirable. The essential factor is the education of the workers in the principles of Socialism, for on the "rank and file" rests the responsibility of a "leader's" shortcomings.

The failure of the Labour Party to "make good" is useful in showing how it can not be done, but is a useless waste of time to those of us who knew it could not be done that way. If there are any who even think themselves Socialists left in the I.L.P., it is to be hoped that they will justify themselves by studying the position of the only Socialist party in Great Britain, and so beat themselves to become soldiers in its ranks, there to work for Socialism and Socialism alone.

made the last mentioned place notorious, which whitewashed all concerned, and nothing was done. No action was taken by the Government to attach blame to any of its officers.

* * *

The explanation is simple. Those in charge are quite prepared to admit that a mistake has been made, but the mistake is not that the people have been slaughtered. Oh, no!—that happens every day in the pursuit of profit. The blunder is that the workers have been suppressed in such a way as to arouse suspicion and distrust.

The workers have been told that the police are out to "keep the ring," and that the law is for rich and poor alike; but these "incidents" tend to show that the police are maintained to protect private property and the interests of the shareholders of private concerns.

If all that is said is true, those in charge of affairs in Dublin have something to answer for besides which the Marconi ministers' little deal pales into insignificance. Yet we are still waiting to hear a denial of the statements made by a trade union official, Mr. P. T. Daly, that the magistrate, E. G. Swift, and chief prosecutor, Sir Patrick Coll, are shareholders in the Dublin United Tramways Company, and are therefore directly concerned in smashing the strike.

* * *

These narrow-minded tradesmen and petty officials are always as putty in the hands of the lords and masters of the land, but when their own petty interests are directly at stake, there is nothing too degrading and brutal for them to do. If it be true that the magistrate who proclaimed the meeting and who tried Larkin, together with the Chief Prosecutor for the Crown and the wife of the Under Secretary for Ireland, to say nothing of certain of the Irish Constabulary, are shareholders in the Dublin United Tramway Company; if it be true that any or all of these were directly concerned in the company against which the men were striking, then the "blunder" is easily understood. Their precious dividends were at stake, and they would risk all their hopes of a front seat in heaven for a few dirty pieces of gold.

In any case the position is clear. As in Africa the workers, struggling against adverse circumstances, faced with worsening conditions, strike for some improvement in their miserable lot, and call a public meeting to discuss these matters. "Under the British flag" both these courses are supposed to be legal. The "right" of free speech is, of course, well known. Yet in Dublin as in Africa, these meetings are proclaimed, in the one case by an interested party, and in the other case by a government under the control of the landlords. Upon the workers attempting to exercise the right they are popularly supposed to possess, a gang of hooligans, trained to murder, are let loose upon them with baton and bullet.

* * *

"The proceedings were monstrous and unnecessary." What a confession! Is it true that they could be monstrous and necessary?

* * *

The capitalists exist to exploit. Their only concern with the worker is to rob them. They dabble in company shares to get dividends and dividends they must have at all costs. The toilers are not looked upon asught else than wealth producers, and immediately they threaten to stop producing profit they must be coerced. Why dodge the fact?

* * *

We are in the midst of a class war, of a bitter struggle that can know no cessation until the master class are overthrown. Brute force is the last resort, and to brute force the capitalists turn, knowing full well that they hold the master card in the game. The Socialist did not make the struggle, neither does he desire it. But he does appeal to the toilers to take a lesson from these facts and to remember Dublin and Johannesburg, Peterloo and Mitchelstown, Tonypandy and Featherstone, when next they invited to throw up their caps for the Liberals or any other such murderous crew. Twel.

An enquiry was held into the affair which has

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR OCTOBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	5th.	12th.	19th.	26th.
Battersea, S.E. Pk. Gates	11.30	S. Blake	G. Plummer	J. Ward
" Prince's Head	7.30	A. Bays	J. G. Stone	A. Barker
Clapham Common	3.30	C. Biggett	J. G. Stone	J. Fitzgerald
Edmonton Green	7.30	G. Seech	A. Bays	T. W. Lobb
Finsbury Park	3.30	A. Anderson	A. Kohn	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30	J. Brown	J. G. Stone	A. Kohn
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30	J. Le Carte	C. Gatter	A. Hoskyns
Ilford (station)	7.30	C. Gatter	B. Young	A. Leslie
Kilburn, Priory Pk. Rd.	8.0	A. Kohn	A. Timms	A. Jacobs
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	H. King	J. Ward	G. Seech
" Parliament Hill "	7.30	A. Jacobs	G. Plummer	A. Wallis
Peckham Triangle	11.30	J. Ward	J. Brown	W. Lewington
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	F. Stearn	H. Cooper	A. L. Cox
St. Leonards, E. Rd., Dulwich	12.0	T. W. Lobb	A. Wallis	A. Timms
Tooting Broadway	11.30	G. Plummer	T. W. Lobb	F. Timms
Tottenham, West Green Cn.	11.30	A. Kohn	A. Wallis	A. Gatter
Watford Market Place	7.30	H. Cooper	S. Blake	F. W. Stearn
MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cn.	8.30	A. Timms	H. Joy	C. Baggett
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.		J. Myles	A. Barker	A. Kohn
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-rd., Highgate, N. Queen's-rd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8. Mossbury Rd., Lavender Hill, 8.		G. Seech	C. Baggett	C. Elliott
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. Battersea, Princes Head, 8 p.m. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's 8.30.		J. Myles	S. Blake	G. Plummer
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, West Hackney Church, 8 p.m. Wimborne Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst, Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8 Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.				

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:
193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman, 98, Britannia-rd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-ct., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sats. at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—All communications care of Gen. Secy., 193, Gars Inn-rd., W.C.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—Communications to Sec., 119, Second Ave., Manor Park. Branch meets alternate Sun. at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.

KILBURN.—T. W. Pass, Sec., 4, Cardigan-rd. Branch meets Thursdays at 8.30 at Edward's Coffee Rooms, 50, High-rd., Kilburn (side door).

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N. Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127, Beresford-ct., Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec. 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.0, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-rd.

NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4, Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sun. at 11.30, at 37 Goldsmith St.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 188, Portman-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs. 8.30 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41, Albert-rd., Queen's-rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Able House School, 156, York-st., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 51, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farleigh-rd.

TOOTING.—W. Mason, Sec., 94, Russell-rd., Wimbledon. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).

TOTENHAM.—W. Lewington, Sec., 86, Rangemore Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badis road. Branch meets all' Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall, 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King.

Street. Public discussion at 8.45.
WEST HAM.—All communications to J. E. Storey, 65, Boleyn-rd., Forest Gate, E. Branch meets alternate Mons. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Rd., Wood Green. From Aug. 4 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

SECOND EDITION.

SOCIALISM & RELIGION.

The Party's pronouncement on this interesting subject.

This new edition of this useful work is enlarged to 48 pages, and contains a preface.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

From Handicraft
to Capitalism,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

POST FREE - - - - 1½d.

THE WORKING CLASS,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

The CAPITALIST CLASS,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fifth Edition with preface.

Explains the Party's position toward the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

Post free 1½d. per copy from the S.P.G.B., 193, Grays Inn-road, London, W.C.

ART LABOUR, AND SOCIALISM
By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC,
By F. ENGELS.

Price 6d. - - - - Post Free 7d.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY
OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS
ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.

OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT

7.30 p.m.

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth.

3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. - - 5/6 post free.
SINGLE YEAR VOL. - - 3/- " "

Printed by A. JACOBS, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.



No. 111. VOL. 10.]

LONDON, NOVEMBER 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

LLOYD GEORGE'S LAND CAMPAIGN.

ANOTHER LIBERAL SWINDLE.

At long last the Right Honourable Lloyd Jaws, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has made his "great" speech on the Land Question. Many of his followers are disturbed and there is murmuring in the camp, for the promised programme has not been brought forward, and the foolish hopes of those who can learn nothing even from the bitterest of bitter experience have not been realised.

A great and rousing campaign is, however, foreshadowed, and once again Labour is to be bamboozled. Four years ago the Budget was trailed before the workers' eyes, and since then both the Lords' Veto and Home Rule have been dexterously exploited to draw the attention of the workers from the real causes and the only remedy for their poverty-stricken and miserable condition.

But these two wheezes have lost, or soon will lose, their efficacy, while the need for a political red-herring, with the workers' miseries steadily increasing and with the line of class cleavage being so frequently illuminated by police brutality and military massacres, and even more vividly by the wholesale slaughter in preventable mine disasters, was never greater than it is to-day. And apart from this there are other reasons, and even more important ones, perhaps, from the Lloyd-Georgian point of view, for embarking upon this campaign.

In the first place, when the fructification of the Home Rule measure takes from the Liberal camp the bulk of the Irish support it has for so many years ranged behind them, it will be necessary for the Liberal party to find other allies. They can hardly expect the old decoy duck—the Labour Party—to rise to the occasion, for their impotence in the great Railway and Transport strikes, and their cowardly silence and indifference in the face of working-class butchery at Llanelli, Belfast, Dublin, the Strand, and other places, have opened the workers' eyes thoroughly to the fact that the "Labour" representative is nothing but a sneak Liberal. Therefore they must try and turn the scale in the country constituencies by appealing to the farmer and the agricultural labourer.

One more reason. The Liberal party is pre-eminently the political party of the manufacturing capitalists. They play their part well in labour disputes, as history from Featherstone to Dublin shows. Their legislation is in the direction of cheaper and more efficient labour power, as witness their Free Trade policy and their Unemployment Insurance, Labour Exchanges, and other reform measures.

To the industrial capitalist the landowner is a useless parasite. He sits idly by and waits for unearned increment. If the old aristocracy had had an overwhelming contempt for "trade," the plutocrats of the factory return that contempt wholeheartedly upon the aristocracy in his capa-

city as landowner. And if the lords of the land at one time thought it nothing less than Divine justice that all the expenses of running the State should fall upon "trade," the manufacturing section of the master class are wide awake to the desirability and the opportunity of imposing the whole burden of taxation upon "the land" to-day.

The present campaign, therefore, besides being a counter-attraction to keep the workers in confusion, and a red-herring to catch the votes of the man on the land, is another blow at landownership, not in the interest of the agricultural labourer, or even of the farmer, but of the industrial capitalist. It is an incident in the struggle between rent on the one hand, and profit and interest on the other— and Lloyd George speaks, as he did in the railway "settlement" and elsewhere, for Profit and Interest.

Gradually the Liberal party is getting their followers familiar with the manufacturing capitalists' view of the "land monopoly" and landlordism, the diabolical wickedness of "unearned increment," and the parasitism of the landowner as such. Gradually they are preparing the way for the final triumph of the industrial capitalists—the placing of all taxes on land.

It is quite clear, however, that as the workers are neither land-owners nor capitalists, as far as

the "Land Campaign" is a struggle between these two, they are not interested in it in the slightest degree.

The actual details of the Cabinet's proposals, as far as anything definite has been said, seem to centre around two main points—security for the farmer and a minimum wage for the labourer. There are minor points, such as housing the workers, "fair rents," etc. It is no part of our task to go into the question of security for the farmer, but it is quite easy to see that when the large landowner sees agriculture advancing, the land yielding more, and himself unable to reap the benefit, compensation or no compensation, the farmers will have to go. Bailiffs will take their places, and the landowner will farm the land himself through them.

It is admitted that tenant farmers have only been suffered because the landowner could, in general, rob them of all they produced beyond their living (the statement of Mr. Chiozza Money that "nearly the whole of the farmers of the United Kingdom earn less than £160 per annum" ["Riches and poverty," p. 17] supports this), and to attempt to deprive landowners of this power of robbery, so far from giving the farmer security, will simply turn him into the landlord's bailiff.

Even if the land were nationalised the rents would be maintained, for the industrial capitalists, who are the power in the land, are determined that as far as possible and as convenient as possible, the land shall bear the burdens of the

State expenses, either through taxation under private ownership, or through rent under land nationalisation. If the Liberals cared about the "man on the land," and especially about the small "man on the land," they have had ample opportunity of showing it as the landlords of thousands of acres of Crown land. But instead, it is the constant boast of Liberal Ministers, that since their Allotments and Small-holdings Acts have come into force, since that is, a portion of these lands have been parcelled out to small men, the rent derived from the Crown lands has considerably increased.

Much of the Chancellor's verbiage has been expended upon the old, old cry of increasing the fertility of the soil—making "two blades of grass to grow where one grew before." Of course, if food can be produced with less expenditure of human energy the price would fall, and the immediate effect of this would be to relieve the pressure of the "labour unrest" which is so sorely troubling the capitalists at present, and must do sound wages readjust themselves to the high prices of necessities, or until the prices fall.

As all that is left of the worker's product after he has met the expenses of living, becomes rent, profit, and interest, passes, that is, into the pockets of the exploiting class, it is easy to see how desirable it is, to these Lloyd George speaks for, the farmers "out of the hands of the landowners" (which means, eventually, land nationalisation) and to speed them up (the real purport of the wily Welshman's remarks on what will done with the bad farmer is just to remove the exploitation of the farmer from the landed gentry to the factory lords. Instead of slaving to swell a noble's rent roll, he is to toil to enable factory lords to feed their human cattle more cheaply).

But does more abundant and therefore cheaper food supplies in the markets mean more food for the workers? If other things remain constant it certainly does. But other things do not remain constant. As Lloyd George himself used to point out to the masters, when he was presenting his campaign for National Insurance, the better nourished the workers are, the more can be got out of them; the greater that is, becomes their efficiency and the possibility of intensifying their labour.

Now greater efficiency and intensification means fewer required for production and more unemployment. More unemployment means less food as a first result and greater competition for work and falling wages as a second. Lower wages again means reduced output and power and less food. So it is demonstrated that in the long run the cost of living is increased, that is to say concerning the workers, in the cost

fodder concern the horse. In both cases efficiency is necessary to the master, and it is he who must provision it. He will not provide for more than he requires, be food never so cheap or never so dear.

As regards the promised minimum wage Act for farm labourers. We have had samples of Liberal Minimum Wage enactments, and know exactly what value to place upon such promises. But really a Minimum Wage Act in regard to agricultural workers would be no bad stroke for the factory capitalists, and doubtless they know it. Consider the difference between Colonial and English farming—the advanced machinery in use in the former countries compared with the latter. Why are not these perfect machines in common use in this country? Simply because the agricultural worker is so cheap.

To raise agricultural wages, therefore, would but enforce the adoption of more economical machinery. The agricultural worker would be speeded up. He would, by means of improved machinery and methods, be made to produce more in a given time, and since value, and therefore prices in the long run, are not determined by the amount of wages paid to the producer, but by the amount of labour-time needed to produce the goods, food being produced with less labour, will be cheaper—which is what our masters want.

Then, with our rulers straining every nerve to stop the "hemorrhage," to prevent the depletion of the rural population, and even to increase it, the agricultural labourer will find himself, with his "reasonable hours" and "Minimum Wage" (if he gets them) in very much the same stew of competition as his fellows of the factory—made redundant by machinery, and thus made to suffer the hardships of increased unemployment and insecurity.

There is neither alleviation nor remedy for the poverty and misery of the workers of the farm, factory, or workshop in the proposals of this Liberal pack, and the working class are earnestly exhorted by us, their fellow workers and fellow sufferers, to refuse to be led into any enthusiasm for them. The only remedy for the evils which afflict the workers in common—you as well as us—is Socialism. The rich, who are rich because you are poor, and can only be rich so long as they keep you poor, tell you Socialism is wrong; but we, who have nothing to gain except we gain it with you, and who must be poor while you are poor, tell you Socialism is right, and ask you to study it. A. E. JACOBB.

PARTY PARAGRAPHS.

The activities of the Paddington Branch have resulted in the formation of a new branch of the Party at Kilburn (see Branch Directory) and another branch is being formed at North Kensington.

The Peckham Branch resumes its Sunday evening meetings in their hall at 41 Albert Rd., Queen's Rd, on November 2nd, and will continue them throughout the Winter.

The Islington Branch is also arranging a series of indoor meetings.

Classes for the study of Economics and the developing of Speakers should also be organised to employ the spare Winter evenings and prepare propagandists for the fighting line. Although we have now more speakers on the Lecture List than ever in the history of the Party, we simply cannot yet supply the demand.

The Nottingham comrades are to be congratulated on a very successful season's propaganda. The local branch is in a healthy and vigorous state, and is developing speakers so as to relieve the drain on London talent, and also to make possible missions to surrounding towns to spread the light. They recently had a splendid example of the cowardice of the enemy. The Socialist (!) Labour (!) Party was holding its annual conference in a room in the town and a few of our comrades approached with a view to entering to listen to and watch the proceedings. They were told, however, that the conference was private—that there was no admittance except to their own members.

This is another example of the undemocratic

character of that party, and may be added to the indictment already given in our Manifesto. Obviously they had something to hide.

As for us, we spurn secret society methods. Our Party, with every Branch, Delegate, Executive Council, Conference, or other meeting open to the public, can fearlessly challenge the closest scrutiny. We are democrats, and with our principles and policy preached and discussed in the open, leadership, bosses, intrigue and treachery are rendered impossible.

Our Nottingham comrades and in fact our members generally, will make full use of this "tactic" of the pseudo Socialists should they ever happen to meet an S.L.P.er.

* * *

Another champion of the confusionist army, namely, Mr. Hawker, of the I.L.P., met his Waterloo at Wealdstone last month, when he engaged in debate with our Comrade Wilkins, of Watford. Wilkins, at a minute's notice, deputised for our appointed representative (who was prevented from keeping his engagement) and had no difficulty in demolishing the case put up by the I.L.P. against Socialism. Some of the audience were under the impression that Mr. Hawker represented the Anti-Socialist Union, but that was not so. He was, at the time of the debate a member of the I.L.P.

* * *

The Watford comrades, encouraged by their success at Wealdstone, etc., have attacked Harrow. There, on Sunday evenings, the fight for Socialism is waged—waged, however, in this case against great opposition.

No sooner had our Party established its meeting place than the Anti-Suffragettes, the Anti-Socialist Union, and latterly the Carpenters' Trade Union, were rushed on the scene, completely blocking the thoroughfare with a dense mass of shouting humanity, and leaving the police no alternative but to close down the meetings or arrest the lot for causing obstruction.

Now these are dirty tactics and weak OPPOSITION TO SOCIALISM, but the increasing demand for our literature and the support given us generally by the workers of Harrow may yet enable us to win. Wait and see!—developments are pending. The victory won at Gravesend may be excelled at Harrow. At Gravesend in the beginning of the season *all* meetings were to be stopped. The Labour Party, the Anti-Socialist Union, the Liberals, the Tories, etc., agreed to forgo the privilege of meetings at the Clock Tower—WE WOULD NOT. And now those other parties have returned on different evenings in the week to take advantage of our successful stand. At Harrow why cannot those other parties choose another spot or another night to lay their "views" before the people?

* * *

In North London a Clarion Van was recently noticed with a Mr. Whitehead speaking from it. At Wood Green the speaker was advocating buying out the mines by putting sixpence a ton on the price of coal, taking the land on the hire purchase system, denouncing violence and preaching "no resistance," deprecating strikes as selfish because, in his opinion, some workers could only gain at the expense of the others, and generally playing the goat. Of course, his audience were above that sort of piffle, and on the night of our regular meeting he could not keep a meeting together, so he had to give it up. He published a pitiful wail in the "Clarion," and the next week followed it up with a lying attack upon this Party. He said that at Tottenham he broke the law of the Clarion Van Committee and invited one of our members to oppose him on the van and our man declined. It is not true, and we have written the "Clarion" on the matter, but they are silent. If Mr. Whitehead is ready we are, at any time and place. Let him come out into the open instead of firing from the cover of the cowardly columns of the "Clarion," that will not publish replies. Come out onto the public platform, Whitehead, or into the columns of the SOCIALIST STANDARD—where we are not afraid to give the enemy their chance—or for ever hold your stupid, lying tongue.

* * *

Comrades, if the days grow cold the fight grows warm, so you can keep your coats off.

O.

FRANCHISE QUESTIONS.

We have received the following questions from Mr. John Drysdale. Our reply is appended.

(1) Would you kindly let me know your attitude toward Adult Suffrage?

(2) Do you think the working class have a majority at the ballot box with the franchise they have now?

(3) Do you think the working class should use the franchise they have got in their own interests before the Socialist Party should fight for more?

(1) Our attitude towards Adult Suffrage is as follows:

While Adult Suffrage would be a useful measure for the working class, to enable them to more quickly and completely take control of political power when they understand how to use their votes, yet as the working class have a franchise wide enough for the initial steps of their emancipation, it is not the business of a Socialist Party to spend time and energy in advocating the extension of that franchise, but to educate the workers in how to use the voting power which they already possess; hence the business of a Socialist Party is to advocate Socialism only.

(2) The working class are overwhelmingly in the majority at the ballot box, as is shown by the following figures:

According to "White Paper" No. 478 on "Parliamentary Constituencies (electors)" for 1913, there are 8,058,025 voters on the Register. Of these 4,895,840 are in the Counties and 3,111,062 in the Boroughs, while the remaining 51,123 are University electors.

In the Counties the Owners number 637,608, the Occupiers 4,086,829, and the Lodgers 171,402.

In the Boroughs the Freeholders and Freeholders number 54,854, Occupiers 2,824,923, and Lodgers 231,285.

It may be accepted that the Owners, Freeholders, and University electors are members of the capitalist class. They number 743,585.

The Lodgers may be taken as members of the working class, the few exceptions to the contrary in this case being probably balanced by the few very small property owners in the first case, and they number 402,687.

We have left, the Occupiers, who number 6,911,752. Who are the Occupiers? An answer is found by looking at the rent of private houses as given in the Inq. Rev. Report. Of the 1,473,214 houses that come under their survey only 1,088,631 are of the yearly rental of £25 and upwards. It is a poor capitalist whose house is not estimated at more than £25 per annum, while plenty of slum property is rented above this amount. In addition, many houses that are let out in tenements are returning a total rental of £60 or £70 a year. Still others are Occupiers under the Service Franchise who are servants.

We will, however, suppose that all the occupiers of Houses of £25 and upwards are members of the capitalist class, even then we get: Total Electorate ... 8,058,025 Owners, Freeholders, University Electors and Capitalist Occupiers 1,832,216 Working-class Occupiers & Lodgers 6,225,809 Or more than 3 to 1.

(3) Certainly. In whose interest should they use it if not in their own? It would be absurd to urge them to use it in anyone else's interest. J. F.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED—

- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vanc'ver).
- "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
- "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
- "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
- "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
- "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
- "International News Letter" (Berlin).

MARX AND HIS TRADUCERS.

NOTHING hurts the master class more than the truth. This is not to be wondered at when we consider that for the upkeep of the present system of society, lying, cant, and hypocrisy are almost as important as force itself. How the master class will spend their money on political, religious, and philanthropic movements, which exist for the purpose of misleading the workers! Capitalist society would not last long if the people understood their social position in the true light.

None knew this better than Karl Marx, the pioneer of modern Socialism. By his analysis of the methods of capitalist production, and his exposition of the law of social development, he gave capitalist philosophy and criticism their death-blow.

At first capitalist representatives, together with the pseudo-Socialists, treated Marx, if not with silent contempt, at all events with dumb respect. But when it was seen that his teachings were being spread broadcast amongst the class who had everything to gain from their dissemination, these misrepresenters of the truth had to abandon their policy of silence, and begin to stir themselves to promulgate a false, perverted

Marxism.

One of the sycophants engaged in this business of misrepresentation is John Spargo, who has written a work entitled: "Karl Marx, his Life and Work." He opens out by discrediting a work on Marx by the man who, next to Engels, was most intimate with the great Socialist philosopher—a work, moreover, which Spargo quotes more often than any other in his own book. The work referred to is Liebknecht's "Biographical Memoirs of Marx."

Spargo's objections to this book are two-fold. Firstly, he contends that Liebknecht errs when he says that Marx's father left the Hebrew faith for the Christian for the sake of official position.

Secondly he asserts that Liebknecht is wrong when he claims that Karl Marx's life was a revenge against his father's act in renouncing Judaism.

As regards the first point, although it is attested by those most qualified to judge, including Karl Marx's daughter (as Spargo admits) yet our bold author, to reconcile his views with those of the Christian "Socialists," says that Marx's father, who was previously of the Hebrew persuasion, became a disciple of Rousseau and Liebnitz, changed his religion, because he sincerely believed in the Christian faith.

How well it speaks for Christianity that a man of the intellect and calibre of Marx's father should see the noble purity of the Christian religion! Yet how remarkable it is that he changed his religion at the very opportune time when a law was passed that none but Christians could hold official positions!

Mr. Spargo's next point is really too absurd. Liebknecht certainly meant that Marx's teaching is the deadly enemy of religion—and none but perverts can say otherwise.

The main idea of Spargo in writing the book—and of the capitalists in boom it—is to make an idol of Karl Marx by proving that he stood for the policy of opportunism. Because Marx endeavoured to get the workers of all lands together through an international organisation, so that they might discuss matters and formulate schemes, and because, with such an object in view, and the circumstances and conditions of the time, when his views were known to very few indeed, he acted in a manner such as those circumstances demanded, Spargo affects to believe that a similar course of action is needed at the present day, and would be advocated by Marx were he now living.

How singular it is, though, that at a later date than the "International," this same Marx fought so sternly against the amalgamation of the Einachers with the Lassallians in which his unerring judgment has been confirmed by the lapse of years! The so-called German Social-Democratic Party is reactionary, and all its votes don't make it otherwise.

Marx's work with the International Workingmen's Association was glorious. It gave emphasis to the idea that the workers, to bring their battle to a successful issue, must be organised internationally. And to-day, with the

development of the capitalist system, society has reached the stage where it is rotten to the core. Reforms cannot help. Opportunist methods are false and useless. Years of opportunism have not bettered the condition of the workers, have not brought the toilers any nearer to their emancipation. Nothing but opposition to the capitalist class everywhere and at all times can ensure success.

Perhaps the most amusing part of the book is that portion in which it is claimed that Marx was the most misrepresented and misunderstood of men. When it is considered how utterly unscrupulously he is misrepresented in the book under notice the delicious irony of this is fully appreciated. John Spargo's own words will best serve to illustrate this.

On page 14 we read: "No man has been more grievously misrepresented and misrepresented than Karl Marx," while on page 331 we have: "Marx was, in fact, a good deal of an opportunist, and of the two wings of the present day Socialist movement, popularly denoted as 'Opportunist' and 'Impossibilist' respectively, the former is much more truly Marxian than the latter, at least in its fundamental principles. In its application of these principles the opportunist wing of the present-day Socialist movement may at times cease to be Marxist, or even Socialist of any description, being scarcely or not at all distinguishable from bourgeois reformers."

But whilst Marx "never ceased to be first and foremost a Socialist and a revolutionist," the opportunist wing of the "present-day Socialist movement," Mr. Spargo tells us, "may cease to be Marxist, or even Socialist of any description, being scarcely or not at all distinguishable from bourgeois reformers. Theoretically they are Marxists as regards political tactics, but Marx, opportunist as he was, never ceased to be first and foremost a Socialist and a revolutionist."

Again our author says on page 121: "Many shallow minded Socialists claim that the more the workers are oppressed the more likely are they to revolt, and the sooner they are reduced to abject misery the sooner will they rise and overthrow the existing social order."

Now if anyone depends for success upon the poverty of the people more than others it is the opportunist and sentimentalists. Instead of educating the workers in Socialism they are always appealing on behalf of the starving children, the crippled, the unemployed, etc. Send us to Parliament and we shall see them right!" They plead, thinking of themselves and the fleshly parts all the time.

On'y the Socialist Party of Great Britain realise the situation. Despite reforms the condition of the mass of the people tends to become worse, and it is up to us to teach them now, not when it is too late, their status in society, so that the workers may consciously organise to overthrow capitalist society and introduce in its stead the Socialist regime.

Only the Socialist Party of Great Britain has the remotest intention of abolishing unemployment and poverty. They are in Parliament to conserve their own privileges and power. Therefore we call on the working class to organise in the Socialist Party for the capture of this strong-hold of capitalism.

Our itinerary for 1914 embraces the N.W. corner of London, but this cannot be successfully accomplished unless those who earnestly desire to see the pall of ignorance rent asunder by the spreading of scientific Socialism come inside and get on with the business. "The harvest, truly, is plentiful, but the labourers are few."

BEN CARTERS.

SOCIALISM

versus

TARIFF REFORM."

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.
AND
Mr. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective
Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post Free

PADDINGTON GOING STRONG.

It has long been realised by the Paddington members that there existed in the surrounding districts ample material to work upon and thereby extend the Party's influence. Finding ourselves continually bombarded with inquiries as to when we intended opening up these sources for Socialism, we determined to meet this insistent demand for the Party's propaganda with a series of week's meetings at selected venues. Operations were therefore commenced at Kilburn, which duly materialised into an energetic branch that has completely pulverised the wobbly opposition

that formerly entrenched in the locality. Fortified by that triumph, we made tracks for North Kensington, where further conquests were made. Our speakers had no difficulty in effectively smothering the smattering interruptions of the local illiterates, and the large audiences that nightly assembled showed that the time was never more opportune for the establishment of a branch of the Part.

That treacherous section of the Anti Socialist brigade, the B.S.P., till recently had a motley following, and to hasten the millennium they put up their chief mesmeriser as "Socialist" candidate for the General Election to come. The local sheets commented on the "self sacrifice of this well known gentleman," and kindly suggested that the prospect of £400 a year should bring forth quite a crop of budding M.P.s. The campaign was opened by inviting the constituents to nibble at a nosh-mash of social reform. Street-corner harangues were held extolling the candidate's virtues, and for a while it looked as if the day of universal emancipation was at hand. Then dissension arose over his "programme," recriminations were flung about, the "rankers" began to revile their "leader" and renounce his unofficial candidature, and the branch went "nap."

So we concluded that it was our duty to get our platform out and explain why it is the B.S.P., so-called, is anti working class right through. This was done, and we have the satisfaction of knowing that our week's mission will fructify into a branch of our organisation.

would have asked Sir Oliver Lodge to "bring in" an experiment or a specimen in proof of his beliefs, his phrases, and suppositions about "discarnate intelligences," and in their absence would have declined to let him occupy their time. And they would have done this, and did so act, in regard to similar talkers of their day, such as Sir Kenelm Digby, not because they denied the possibility of the existence of ghosts and "such wild fowl" (many of them firmly believed in such existences), but because they had discovered that the great principle of investigation and the building up of knowledge is the requirement of demonstrative evidence of things asserted, and the rejection of mere statements of belief or fancy, whatsoever may profit them.

Sir Oliver makes an urgent appeal in favour of the plausibility of ghosts. He omits to state or consider the real objection which all reasonable men entertain to a belief in the existence of ghosts—namely, that the President of the British Association has not, any more than have other such believers, brought forward a particle of experimental evidence in favour of it. The best evidence forthcoming is not sufficient to induce a normal man to bet five pounds on the successful demonstration of a ghost's existence against five thousand offered on the other side.

With the complete domination of capitalist industry the need for the British Association, or its equivalent, as a fighting unit against religious or feudal antagonism has passed, and reconciliation is in the air. But the chief point I wish to make is that this supposed conciliation is with a different religion to the old. Religious advocates now plume themselves on their science, and endeavour to nourish their superstitions on the barren nothingness of the regions where scientific knowledge ends, and this is well brought out by D.K. Moreover, among healthy humans with scientific education, such religion as they profess is in the main sheer hypocrisy. The university educated clergyman will—to his equals, and in expensive reviews—embrace science, discard miracles, deny the six day legend, and even the divinity of Christ, and will praise the Bible solely as a store of moral lessons from early human history; but to the ignorant and unscientific majority the same man will preach, pray, chant, bless and thunder as though all the old superstitions were strong and hot within him, and will try to maintain these superstitions undiminished in his flock. Despite however, this widespread hypocrisy, it is really religion that has weakened, not science.

Capitalist industrial processes breed knowledge. Competition and profit-hunger make education inevitable; and this education, particularly when coupled with class interest, drives religion further into the clouds, and determines capitalist philosophy. The ruling class is verily between the devil and the deep, blue sea. It wishes (and tries) to maintain religion as an aid to its domination, but is compelled to take a hand in its destruction by the spread of an education that is essential to industrial progress and profit. With most of this D.K., as indicated in his article, agrees. But I do not fully agree with his suggestion that it is the scientists who have gone back. The religious crowd have come forward; as to the scientist—well, he "never was!" On many points the economic position of the scientists compels them to be stagnant, but I think it is, to say the least, a debatable point whether they are less materialistic than formerly. Certainly all biologists of eminence have completely abandoned the vitalistic or ghost theory of life so pathetically dressed up in modern phraseology by Rip Van Winkle Lodge. Like Laplace, when asked by Napoleon where God came in according to his theory, the biologists also say they have no need for that hypothesis.

It is scarcely necessary to say that on most points I am in complete agreement with the writer of the article. If the economists are taken as representative of scientists in general, I must grant D.K. his whole case. Indeed, on reading again what I have written, I perceive that on my own showing respecting the protagonists of physical science he has not at all a bad case; but I send this contribution to the discussion nevertheless in the hope of evoking further evidence from D.K.'s point of view on what is an interesting and useful point of Socialist knowledge.

Yours fraternally,

"CRAFTSMAN."

RATES AND TAXES AGAIN.

J. HUME (Walthamstow) (1) Your quota-

tion from Philip Snowden only adds to the mass of evidence proving him to be a charlatan. Whilst here he states that the "food taxes" are a pressing burden on the workers, he enthusiastically referred to Lloyd George's 1909 Budget as "my Budget." Apart from this, his statement is worthless, as food prices are governed, like those of all other commodities, by the amount of labour embodied in the articles, modified by supply and demand.

(2) The recent Board of Trade Report is eloquent of the great rise in prices, even though, as contemporary politics show, taxes have been continuously reduced in the same period.

(3) Your quotation from Prof. Ashley's "Economic History of England" is certainly useful evidence of the truth of our position, and as you say, serves to show the bourgeois nature of the Labour Party's agitation.

(4) Competition would doubtless reduce the price of tea if the tax was removed, and it is quite true that an inflated price and profit in the tea industry would attract more capital, with the inevitable result of over-supply and consequent reduction in price.

(5) The Railway Companies' 4 per cent. increase in goods traffic rates subsequent to the strike proves rather than disproves our statement. Prior to the strike the railway companies were sternly opposed to any increase of wages, but when they made a tardy and well-manipulated "concession," they immediately demanded Parliamentary sanction for an increase in freight rates. In other words the increased wage bill was the excuse and not the reason.

The workers are not interested in freight rates, as can be verified by recalling the heated attack by manufacturers in Parliament upon the Railway Rates Bill. They felt the pinch, hence they yelped.

(6) Your extract from "Justice" is quite contrary to the position maintained by E. Bellfort Bax and H. Quelch in the "Socialist Catechism" and elsewhere: viz., that rates are of interest to the propertied class alone. It illustrates the confusion that is created by the B.S.P. The idea that every increase can be "passed on" to the workers is ridiculous. The workers buy back but one-third of their produce, hence even the "pass on" theory, if there were anything in it, would affect the masters most.

(7) Tattler's advice to a correspondent that the incidence of taxes is of little importance to our class is, after the cry about the railway rates in "Justice," just about the limit. Mystification, not education, is evidently their policy.

A. K.

WHO SAID WAR?

I suppose the readers of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, without exception, understand the object of its publication. A perusal of its pages leaves no doubt. The position of the "Daily Chronicle" toward the workers, however, is not so clear.

The "Daily Chronicle" represents, faithfully and consistently, that section of the capitalist class known as the Liberal party.

It supports the present Government's every action, even to the shooting of strikers and bludgeoning of women and children. Its function in the political game of make believe is to kid the workers into thinking that their interests are identical with those of the capitalists.

The point I wish to explain, however, is this. The "D.C." has been telling the workers what the Socialist Party have been hammering home for years, but the article to which I am going to refer was certainly never seriously intended for working-class digestion. But a paper that aspires to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds finds itself in an enviable position when hare and hounds meet as in the case of a strike or lock-out.

The "D.C." tells us that a new organisation has been formed, called "The United Kingdom Employers' Defence Union," the object of which is to raise a fund of £50,000,000 for the purpose of resisting strikes, and, if possible, of forcing the repeal of the Trade Union Dispute Act. Commenting on this the "Daily Chronicle" said (Sept. 26):

"The specious phraseology in which the in-

spired announcement of the Union's formation is couched, does not conceal its real object, which is to fight trade unionism. From that point of view we regard the formation of the Union as an ill-omened move. It looks very like a deliberate challenge to the trade unions."

Now, if Capital and Labour are on such terms of affection as we are led to believe, will the "D.C." tell us whatever made the idea enter the heads of our masters that it was necessary to form a union to fight its "closest friend and ally, Labour?" And also why working men should find it necessary to band themselves into a union for the purpose of fighting the masters. Talk of affection and unity of interests! why are workers willing to take the risk of being starved, beaten, butchered, by the minions of a merciless master class, if it is not because of waging interests?

Hear what the "Daily Chronicle" says regarding the new organisation:

"For what does its formation mean? It means in the eyes of those who support it, that the normal terms between Capital and Labour in this country are relations of bitter hostility, war, not peace. Most happily, this is not true."

Evidently Thorold Rogers was wrong when he wrote: "Of all the wars that have been waged, none has been so bitter and long as that between Capital and Labour." The trouble is, with the "D.C." that the adoption of a definitely antagonistic policy by the masters would cause the workers to become class-conscious. Arbitration, or in other words, bluff and blunder, is the favourite method of the "Chronicle," and the Liberal party generally.

Commenting upon the workers' unions the "D.C." said:

"Trade Unionism has helped to make for appeasement and reconciliation. It has enabled Labour to meet Capital on something like equal terms."

Something like equal terms! Again:

"Capital has an equal right with Labour to protect its own interests. An equal right, yes, but not an equal need. Trade unionism is simply the banding together of workmen in an association that serves as a counterpoise to the loose but effective combination of Capital. In recent years combinations of employers have become more precise and rigid, and the power of capital has enormously increased. What rubbish it is to talk of an 'Employers' Defence Union'! Defence against what? In nearly every great industry in the land the employers are already united in compact organisations, and act together in arranging wages and conditions of work with trade union officials. These employers welcome the co-operation of trade union leaders. They do not want a 'Defence Union': they are well able to defend themselves."

"Something like equal terms!" Very rich, this. With regard to the collective bargaining with the trade union leaders, this gives to the masters a degree of security, and enables them to keep the function of the political machine in the background. Quoting Adam Smith, the "Chronicle" proves conclusively the helplessness of the workers to strike effectively against the masters.

"A landlord, a farmer, a manufacturer or merchant, though they don't employ a single workman, could generally live a year or two on stocks which they have already acquired. Many workmen could not subsist a week: few could subsist a month, and scarce any a year without employment."

I do not know, of course, but that certainly reads like a taunt at Syndicalist and Anarchist action. Starvation certainly seems a serious stumbling block in the path of the Syndicalist movement. The only hope of victory lies in the capture of the political machine, and through that the control of the forces by which the system is maintained. Join with us, then, in the Socialist Party—whose object it is to educate the workers to class consciousness, and to organise them for the overthrow of the system of wage slavery, and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth.

J. R.

Active propaganda—pushing the "S.S."

JOTTINGS.

ANOTHER "useful" member of the class which "provides the capital with which to employ labour" (to use a favourite expression of the anti-Socialists) has just passed away in the person of Mr. Peter Coats, of the well known cotton-thread combine. According to "Reynolds's," "Mr. Coats was a model millionaire. He indulged in no lavish display. He was a courteous and kind-hearted gentleman. He did not gain his wealth by grinding down his workers. And he has left a third of his estate to charitable purposes."

How was his wealth gained, then? "Reynolds's" does not say. Are we to assume that the Paisley workers were equally kind-hearted, and that they allowed this "model millionaire" to retain their share for them, secure in the belief that they would get it back some day in the shape of charity? To the writer, from his knowledge of wealth production under capitalism, it would appear that he had been kindest of all to himself.

* * *

That was a good point against his own case that Ben Tillett made when he declared at the recent Syndicalist Congress that "Sir Edward Carson is a legal, political and economical, and racial Syndicalist."

It destroys the theory that Syndicalism can be a working-class weapon in the fight for emancipation by making the capitalist class themselves eligible for membership.

It is a complete negation of the economic fact that the interests of the capitalist class and the working class are diametrically opposed.

The fact that Tillett is also a member of the B.S.P., and thereby committed to Parliamentary action, only adds to the confusion caused by this Cinquevalli of the workers' movement.

* * *

"All combined labour on a large scale requires more or less a directing activity in order to secure the harmonious working of the individual activities, and to perform the general functions that have their origin in the action of the combined organism, as distinguished from the action of its separate organs."

So that we see it matters not whether a man is a low paid labourer or a highly paid manager: he is a worker, and as such is useful to the capitalist for the purpose of exploitation.

Tom Sala.

BY THE WAY.

WHILE emigration agents and others persist in their endeavours to lure workers with their glowing description of the lands across the seas, the true state of things occasionally leaks out in the most unexpected quarters. In the "Odd-fellers' Magazine" for October appears a letter from Canada, headed: "A Warning." It proceeds:

"We, the officers and members of the Order in Ontario, wish to inform the members of the Order in Great Britain that work is very hard to obtain at present in Canada, and to warn them against coming to this country."

The same old story of unemployment and poverty for those who do the work of the world.

* * *

Two most extraordinary placards were to be seen on the same day side by side. If the printer will oblige, this is how they appeared:

£100,000	100,000
ROYAL	STARVING
WEDDING	IN
PRESENTS.	DUBLIN.

Instead of stopping the machinery at the proper time each day at the dinner hour, it was allowed to run for four minutes longer. Carried on to this extent, it meant that the wage earners worked two weeks in the year for nothing! It was pointed out that in a case like this, if they could get two weeks a year in "time-cribbling," it would mean special profit of £600 a year!

And this is only one way of getting it back!

* * *

"Reynolds's" (21.9.13) announces that "Mr. Lloyd George has just refused an offer of £20,000 to visit Australia and deliver ten speeches on the progress of social reform in England."

The "Daily Citizen" thinks that "the Chancellor is far too busy a man to undertake a trip of this distance."

Yes! Mr. Lloyd George must be busy indeed if twenty thousand jinny o'goblins won't tempt him. Are there greater incentives to remain on this side? or is it that the Labour Party can't spare him now that Ramsay has gone to India again? I have known far smaller sums than that tempt many people—labour "leaders," too! Who does not remember our beautiful "Socialist" countess taking a trip to America last year in order to deliver a series of lectures, for each of which, according to the Press, she was to receive no less a sum than £300?

Other instances could be quoted.

Though there may have been no truth in the rumour that went round the Press recently to the effect that "a well-known Socialist had netted £12,000!" by selling stock on inside information, yet it is plainly apparent that it pays some people to be in the "movement."

* * *

What is a workman? Whether it was a lack of knowledge of capitalist development, or a feeling that he was a budding capitalist, that prompted a Stratford engineer named Turner to refuse to take out an unemployment book under the Insurance Act, passes me to understand. But whatever the cause, it landed him in the Police Court, where the magistrate settled the question of his place in society for him to the tune of £1 and costs.

It seems that Turner had some money of his own, and this, along with the facts that he was in charge of an engineering department, evidently created the impression in his mind that he should not be classed as workman. So he refused to take out a book under the Act, with the aforesaid result.

Though he apparently did not know it, he was as much a workman as the lowest paid labourer under him. He belonged to what Marx would call "a special kind of wage-labour"—that section of the working class known as managers, foremen, supervisors, etc., but workers, nevertheless.

Suppose an accident had happened to any person under his charge, would the masters have taken the blame? Not likely! Who but he? And who is it but the workers take the blame on almost every occasion? Simply because they are right on the job. A passage from Marx's "Capital" will clinch the point.

THE SCOUT.

Replies to J. Sutherland are unavoidably held over.

November 1, 1913.

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR NOVEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	2nd.	9th.	16th.	23rd.	30th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30 R. Bruce	A. Barker	S. Blake	G. Seech	C. Baggett
Edmonton Green	7.30 A. Timms	C. Baggett	A. Kohl	A. Wallis	H. Joy
Finsbury Park	7.30 T. W. Lobb	A. Wallis	G. Plummer	A. W. Pearson	A. Anderson
Forest Gate, (Station)	7.30 A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	A. Kohn	A. Hoskyns
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30 A. Kohn	A. Anderson	A. Timms	W. Lewington	J. Brown
Ilford (station)	7.30 A. L. Cox	A. Anderson	C. Baggett	H. Joy	A. C. x
Kilburn, Priory Pk. Rd.	8.0 S. Blake	J. Brown	H. King	A. Leslie	J. G. Stone
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30 H. King	J. Myles	A. Bays	A. Kohl	A. Barker
"	7.30 J. Brown	A. L. Cox	G. Seech	A. Jacobs	A. Leslie
Parliament Hill	11.30 F. Stearn	G. Seech	J. Ward	A. Bays	A. Timms
Peckham, 11 Albert Rd.	7.30 J. Fitzgerald	J. Fitzgerald	S. Blake	W. Lewington	J. Fitzgerald
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30 C. Elliott	A. W. Pearson	J. Brown	R. Bruce	A. Wallis
Walthamstow, Bally Rd., Dalston	12.0 A. Jacobs	G. Plummer	A. Hoskyns	C. Baggett	A. Kohn
Tooting Broadway	11.30 H. Cooper	S. Blake	A. Barker	J. Ward	E. Lake
Tottenham, West Green Cr.	7.30 A. Barker	R. Bruce	A. L. Cox	C. Elliott	C. Baggett
"	11.30 C. Baggett	A. Hoskyns	C. Elliott	A. Anderson	G. Plummer
Waltham Green Church	7.30 A. Wallis	A. Kohn	J. G. Stone	A. C. x	J. G. Stone
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	7.30 H. Joy	T. W. Lobb	A. Timms	A. Barker	C. Elliott
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30 W. Lewington	F. Stearn	R. Bruce	G. Plummer	G. Seech
Watford Market Place	7.30 A. Bays	C. Elliott	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns	A. W. Pearson
	7.30 J. G. Stone	A. Jacobs	A. Hoskyns	A. Anderson	T. W. Lobb

MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Crn. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-rd., Earlsfield, 8. Walthamstow, Station, 8.
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30. North Kensington, Prince of Wales's 8.30 p.m.
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, Palatine Road, 8 p.m. Wimborne Broadway, 8 p.m. Amburst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8. Kilburn, Victoria-rd., 8.30.

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmere Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnam House, 124, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 83 Britania-rd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Ascot Road, Edmonton. Branch meets alternate Sat.s, at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—All communications care of Gen. Secy., 193 Gars Inn-rd., W.C.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary, care of 2, Milton-rd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—W. Holt, Secretary, 3 George Street, Barking. Branch meets alternate Sundays at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.

KILBURN.—T. W. Pass, Sec., 4 Cardigan-rd. Branch meets Thursdays at 8.30 at Edward's Coffee Rooms, (6), High-rd., Kilburn (side door).

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N., where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Moss Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carburton-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at 6 Nutford Place, Edgware-road.

NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-rd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Sun.s at 11.30, at 20 Radeline St., Meadows.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portmell-rd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-rd., Queen's rd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Ashlea House School, 156 York-rd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 82, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 104, Farleigh-rd.

TOOTING.—W. Mason, Sec., 94 Russell-rd., Wimbledon. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club, (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).

TOTTENHAM.—W. Lewington, Sec., 86 Rangemore Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 224, High-rd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlis road. Branch meets alt. Monday at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—G. Dodman, Sec., 18, Elfrida Road. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King

Street. Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to J. E. Storey 65, Boleyn-rd., Forest Gate, E. Branch meets alternate Mons. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms 459, Green St., Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Reveille, Secretary, 228, High Rd., Wood Green. From Aug. 4 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-rd., Wood Green.

SECOND EDITION.

SOCIALISM & RELIGION.

The Party's pronouncement on this interesting subject.

This new edition of this useful work is enlarged to 48 pages, and contains a preface.

Post Free — — — — — 1½d.

From Handicraft to Capitalism.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

POST FREE — — — — — 1½d.

THE WORKING CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free — — — — — 1½d.

The CAPITALIST CLASS.

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free — — — — — 1½d.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fifth Edition with preface.

Explains the Party's position toward the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

Post free 1½d. per copy from the S.P.G.B., 193, Grays Inn-road, London, W.C.

ART LABOUR, AND SOCIALISM

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Post Free — — — — — 1½d.

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC,

By F. ENGELS.

Price 6d. — — — — — Post Free 7d.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system or society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

That society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE PARADE AT 11.15 a.m.

OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT

7.30 p.m.

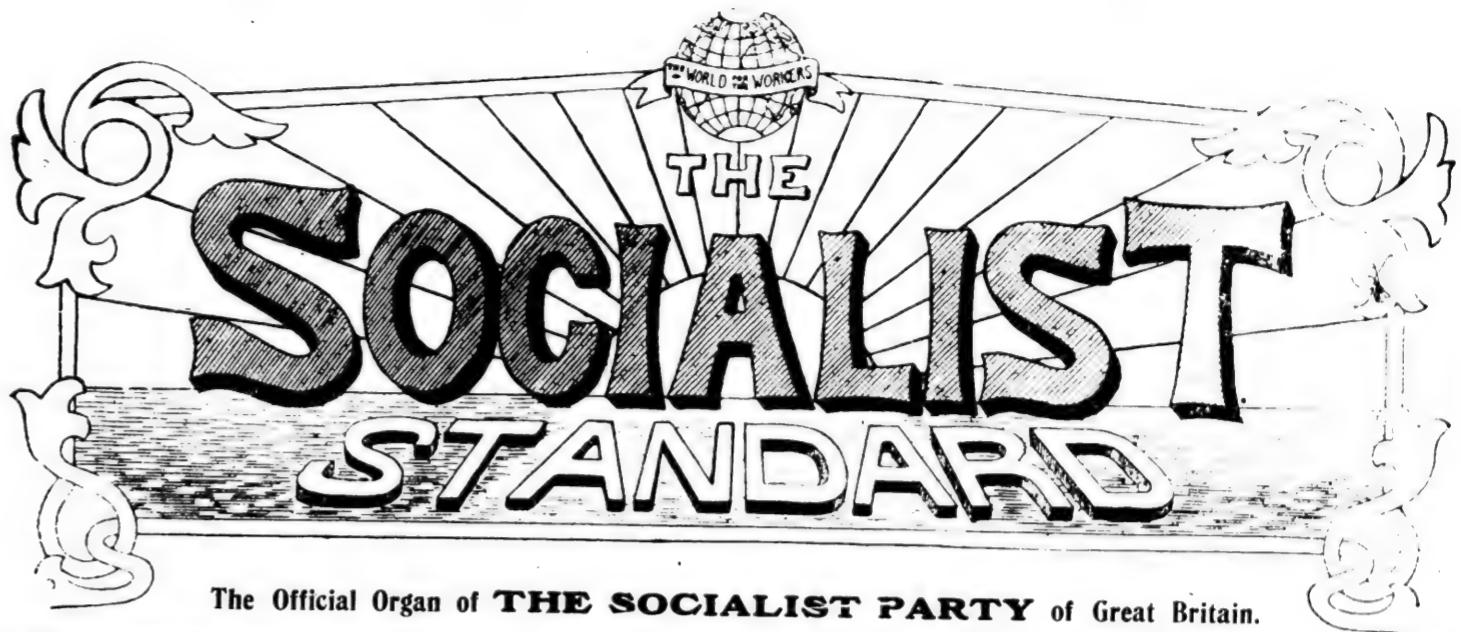
THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth

3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. — 5/6 post free.

SINGLE YEAR VOL. — 3/-

Printed by A. JACOBI, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.



The Official Organ of THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain.

No. 112. VOL. 10.]

LONDON, DECEMBER 1913.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.

THE CASE FOR FREE LOVE.

SOME CAPITALIST HYPOCRISIES EXPOSED.

To the Revolutionist it is almost an axiom that modern society is rotten—rotten at the root! The production of wealth—the first essential form of human activity—is carried on, not for the purpose of satisfying the physical needs of the workers. **Some Social Idiocies.** but with the motive of accumulating wealth in the shape of capital. The means of production are exalted above the producer. These supplementary organs of society are owned and controlled by a small percentage of the race, and the rest of mankind exist merely to augment them for the benefit of the few. Every human faculty capable of serving the interests of these exploiters has to be surrendered by those who possess nought else in return for the wherewithal to purchase the bare means of subsistence. It thus becomes perverted and deteriorates as a consequence. Cash dominates all social relationships and vitiates them.

Sexual relations form no exception to the general rule. The natural purpose for which men and women should mate is the perpetuation of the race and the incidental satisfaction of the sexual instinct. This motive, however, has about the least weight of any in determining the conditions of sexual intercourse at the present day.

The great majority of women, as of men, are dependent on the capitalist class for bread, and being by nature inferior to men as wealth producers, are compelled to turn their sexual attractions to account in order to balance the handicap which sex itself imposes upon them in the competition for employment. Just as the poet, the artist, the physician and the lawyer, to say nothing of the parson and the politician, regard their special abilities as the means of "making a career," so women generally look upon their natural endowment as an economic asset. On the other hand men have come to regard women as existing mainly, if not wholly, for the satisfaction of their own sexual desires, which tend to degenerate as a natural result into lust unredeemed by any regard for the will or the affection of women.

In ordinary public prostitution the divorce of the sex relation from its true motive is too obvious to need special comment.

Wedded Bliss-ter Pricked. Marriage, however, is in reality similar in nature. Stripped of all the sentiment with which an essentially false conventionalism has surrounded it, the legal contract, like all others, consists of an exchange of commodities. In return for the guarantee of economic maintenance the woman surrenders her body to the man, who thereby acquires the "marital right" to force maternity upon her whenever he chooses irrespective of her own desires.

It is true that wives are also useful as household drudges, but considering only the sexual

aspect of the relationship, the only difference between marriage and so-called immorality for cash is that the former is purchase, with the terms legally recognised and enforceable, while the latter is hire. The monetary damages awarded in breach of promise and divorce cases serve to illustrate this. The loss of prospective maintenance by the woman, or the loss of the conjugal monopoly by the man, as the case may be, is estimated at so much in cash. Need more be said to show that the sex-nature in women has been reduced by capitalism to the level of a commodity?

Children may be said to be the incidental by-products of marriage rather than its fundamental object. They also become the property of the husband, who, like any other slave-owner, is responsible for their maintenance.

The advantages of this arrangement to the parent, however, depends upon his own economic status. The capitalist can exploit the "expectations" of his heirs by making their inheritance depend upon the subservience of their activities to his commercial interests. It is considered a matter of honour for both sons and daughters to make matches with a view to enhancing the stability of the family fortunes.

The Workingman's Quiverful. On the other hand, the working man with precarious income is compelled to drive his "brats" to the factory, the workshop, or the

office in order to enable him to barely fulfil his legal responsibilities toward them. Indeed, large numbers are compelled to rely on similar aid from their wives. Even these measures tend to cut the ground from under the feet of the working men themselves, for the entrance of women and children into the labour market necessarily results in keener competition for jobs hitherto performed by men, with a resulting lowering of the rate of wages and an increased difficulty to maintain a family on their part.

Verily, modern machinery under capitalism is the sword promised by the Prince of Peace to set parents against children and *vice-versa*, and to make man's foes "these of his own house hold."

Marriage and the family, for the working class are, to the extent that they survive, mere legal devices to prevent encroachment upon the pockets of the ratepayers. For society as a whole they are the means of maintaining and augmenting private property. We come back, then, to our starting point, that human relations are dominated by this necessity. Let us consider its effect on the quality of sex.

In all phases of the competitive supply of human requirements, their quality is determined by the power of the purse. The economic resources of the great mass of the people consist of subsistence wages. Consequently cheapness is the

first consideration, and quality naturally deteriorates. Sex is affected in the same manner as all other commodities. Supply tending to exceed demand in this as in all other

There are markets, all manner of tricks to ensure a ready sale are resorted to. Sham attractions are set in competition with real ones. The adulteration of food stuffs, clothing, etc., in such a manner as to tickle the palate and catch the eye, is here paralleled by the substitution of paint on the clocks for the glow of health, and the use of perfumes for preventing the detection of the symptoms of indigestion.

Constricted waists and artificially exaggerated figures seek to excite male passions, while in order that these same passions may be cheaply indulged, various methods for the prevention of conception are commonly resorted to. Finally, the excessive and promiscuous intercourse, which the legal contract can neither prevent nor completely hide, gives rise to various diseases, which form a source of profit for innumerable purveyors of patent medicines, appliances, and systems, which, like most palliatives (political ones included), make bad worse.

The faulness offered by marriage from the necessity of entering the labour market or adopting life on the streets leads women to give little consideration to the physical fitness of the first male person who is in a position to offer marriage and does so. Consequently matrimonial misfits, temerarious and physiological, tend to become the rule rather than the exception, and it is not to be wondered at that the children of such unions are degenerate. Add to this the myriad forms of "literary," "artistic," and "theatrical" enterprise devoted to the stimulation and exploitation of vicious imaginations, and the "problems" arising from the possession of the same, and it becomes questionable whether the limit has not been reached in the commercialisation and degradation of sex.

Above this welter of misery the employers of cheap feminine labour, the financiers of the white slave traffic and all the gold-laden who directly or indirectly levy toll on vice and its effects, idle away useless, harmful, often "philanthropic" lives and the luxuriant

The Gentle Art of Mugging.ury heaped up, by the degenerate slaves, while, hanging on to their pulsing straws with the tenacity of fiends, the parsons and moralists, "physicians and reformers" of every description, pretend to be clearing up the mess incidentally of course to enjoy the job the more the "mug" is lost, and increases in extent and intensity, not squares and recreating gaudiness, but calculated and abominable ways to have fun in the face of French and simulate the pseudo-saints of the "spiritual" gentry of the Anti-Socialist League, as they

describe the orgy of bestiality which they assure their audiences will be inaugurated by the advent of Socialism. "Community of Women!! Universal Prostitution and Promiscuity!!" they cry, endeavouring to frighten their hearers with the shadow in order to divert their attention from the reality, and the economic system on which it is based and which these same paid hacks are out to defend.

Yet years ago Marx and Engels (unlike the Fabian Society, the I.L.P., and all the other pseudo-Socialist crowd who allow this misrepresentation of free love), challenged these gentry with the facts in terms that are worth quoting. In the "Communist Manifesto," section II, dealing with numerous objections to Communism, they say:

"The bourgeois (capitalist) sees in his wife a mere instrument of production. He hears that the means of production are to become common property, and naturally can only think that the lot of becoming common property will likewise fall to women.

"He never suspects that the real point aimed at is to do away with the position of women as mere instruments of production."

"For the rest, nothing is more ridiculous than the virtuous horror of our bourgeois at the community of women which he pretends will be officially established by the Communists.

"The members of our bourgeoisie, not content with having the wives and daughters of their proletarians at their disposal, not to speak of common prostitutes, take special delight in mutually seducing each other's wives."

"Bourgeois marriage is in reality community of wives. The Communists could at most be accused of wishing to replace a hypocritically concealed community of women by an official and open community of women. For the rest, it is evident that with the abolition of the present system of production will disappear also the community of women resulting from it, i.e., public prostitution." And so it is.

The degradation of women as a sex is but a special aspect of the general degradation of humanity. The cause of this degradation is, as we have shown, the private ownership of society's means of subsistence. To remove the cause is the task of the great mass of society—the working class. Only by converting the instruments of production into common property can they emancipate themselves from the necessity of prostituting their faculties to the foul service of the capitalist class, which, like an octopus, sucks the blood of every part of the social body.

With this freedom established, all human activities will depend upon their desirability and usefulness to those who perform them. Consequently our faculties will be devoted, unhampered by economic considerations, to their true purpose.

When women have free access, as members of the community, to a sufficiency of those

things necessary to a healthy and happy life, their genuine sex-nature will assert itself. When children are born with a similar birthright, the need for avoiding them or exploiting them for private ends will disappear also. They will be born and reared for their own sake, as they should be. Therefore between man and woman, parents and children, affection will be the only

thing. Modern marriage and the present so-called family life, like all other legal institutions, with their sordid monetary and proprietary bases, will be relegated to the limbo of the forgotten past. Where love exists chains are unnecessary; where it does not they are undesirable to those

who would be free. But to expect sexual love, parental love, or fraternal love to flourish under a social order based on competition, greed, and hatred is akin to looking for figs on thistles.

To sweep away the foul conditions of producing and distributing the material wants of mankind, which to-day render these latter qualities essential to existence, thus preventing the free development of human love, we call our fellow-workers to arise.

There is a sordid system to be overthrown, a class battenning thereon to be fought. And as the power of this class, to which it ferociously clings, consists of the control of the political allegiance of the workers themselves, our course is obvious. We must organise as a class, wrest from our masters the forces of coercion directed by the machinery of government, and having

thus removed the only obstacle, take possession of the indispensable resources of nature and of society—the land, the machines, and all those things necessary for the production and distribution of wealth. Such is the programme of the Socialist Party. We do not flinch from any of its implications.

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. . . . The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains: they have a world to win." E. BODEN.

PRIESTHOOD AND PRIESTCRAFT.

The recent intervention of the Catholic priests in Dublin in preventing some of the starving little victims of the class war being taken to the homes of sympathisers for maintenance during the hopeless struggle, whilst affording us one more illustration of the manner in which Christians love one another, also gives an opportunity of dissecting upon the functions which the clergy fulfil as political agents of the ruling class. With the struggle between the various brands of Christians over that attribute of supernaturalism called a "soul" we are not immediately concerned. We can leave the "loving followers of the meek and lowly one" to fight like Kilkenney cats about it if they wish, knowing that at best all their hullabaloo about "proselytising" is a mere surface ripple, a reflection of the deeper economic interests of the class in whose interest the world's religions and their priesthoods function.

It is safe to say, and, indeed, in strict accord with science to affirm, that in the sum total of human knowledge there is not one grain of evidence that the animal man possesses a soul. About souls the present writer knows as much as any priest or scientist who has been, or is, upon the planet earth, and that is—nothing! In maintaining their position as a robber class it is necessary for the capitalists at all times to hide the fundamental fact that they only live by and upon the surplus value which their system of society enables them to wring from the workers. Therefore, where the general ignorance is deepest the aid of a priesthood (whose special duty is to foster and teach superstitions and ignorant beliefs) is invaluable in directing the thoughts of their poor dupes away from that fact by impressing on their minds the slave maxims concerning "obedience to masters and pastors," and "rendering unto Caesar that which is Caesar's," and in planting as firmly as possible the idea that God is responsible for all their miseries, for which they are to be rewarded after they are dead—if they are good.

But these black-coated agents of the dominant class are useful to their employers in yet another connection—that of dividing the working class into contending factions. The intelligent observer of current events in Ireland can perceive the outstanding fact that the abysmal ignorance, and the fanaticism and bigotry arising therefrom, presents an opportunity too valuable to be missed by all types of political tools, for furthering the interests of their capitalist paymaster by inciting the workers against each other. The Green Isle! Where the priesthood have failed to fulfil their true political functions in capitalist society—that is to say, where they have failed to divide the working class, or pursue a policy detrimental to the profit-seeking interests of the capitalists—they have been discarded: disestablishment has been their reward at the hands of their one-time employers, "The Capitalist State." The value of a State supported priesthood has often been emphasised by us, but one more authoritative statement apropos of this point will not be amiss. Herr Bulage, a member of the German Reichstag, addressing the Annual Congress of the German Catholics at Essen in 1906, pointed out that

"The Prince of Peace will prove the surest defence of all princes and Christian kingdoms against revolution and revolutionary ideas."

Unfortunately for the slimy distributors of brain-drugging religious cant, the capitalist class, besides being compelled by their economic needs to educate their slaves to an ever-greater degree as their system of society develops, are also not in the habit of continuing their support of any agency which, owing to that very increase

of knowledge among the workers, is gradually losing its power. And so, despite the howls of the Church, disestablishment, and what they dread infinitely more, disendowment, surely awaits them not at the hands of any wicked Socialists, but as a natural result of capitalist development, which admits only of profitable investments.

Capitalism, ruthless smasher of ancient customs and worn out beliefs, in its hurrying stride is plucking the older bulwarks of private property by the roots, and, by clearing the political field of the debris of feudalism, valuable no longer to itself, is enabling the exploited working class to see, standing in the ever-widening gulf that yawns 'twixt class and class, the real force that keeps them in economic servitude; and the increasing knowledge thrust upon them by a class that must have more and more surplus value is assisting them to learn that the one way out of their quagmire of misery and toil is by seizing the political power for themselves—the first essential step of which is to organise Socialism.

When the priest, rattling his bag of grisly bones, fails to frighten a class strong in knowledge; when the politician, with honeyed words and gilded promises, can no longer delude a politically enlightened class: then the miseries of the workers will be near their end.

WOLLIE.

THE "BALLOT" STRIKE.

To Show what a smart and up-to-date journal the "Daily Herald" is, the issue of 25th November contains an article by Mr. Russel Smart advocating that, instead of running candidates for Parliament "without even a feeble hope of success," the workers go to the ballot and deliberately spoil the voting papers.

Smart Russel has discovered that it is not good enough to merely abstain from voting or using the ballot, but that the ballot can be actually made a useful agency by Socialists for registering their strength in the constituencies.

Has Smart been careless enough to attend a meeting of the S.P.G.B., and to learn that for years we have taught that the ballot can be used for ascertaining the strength of the movement?

Perhaps! and perhaps not; for we learn further that the ballot paper can be spoiled "either by writing 'Socialism' across it, or better still, filling in the space opposite the candidates' names with the word 'Knavery'."

If Russell thinks that "knavery" is a better retort to "capitalism" than the demand for Socialism, then perhaps he has succeeded in describing the attitude of the "D.H.," the Fabian Society, the I.L.P., the S.D.P., and the Syndicalists more accurately than he intended. Smart, isn't he?

SOUTH WEST.

SO NEAR AND YET SO FAR.

On Saturday, November 29th, Capt. G. V. W. Lushington took Winstone Churchill up in an aeroplane: on the following Wednesday he was killed. The accident might have happened at a much more opportune moment.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

RECEIVED

- "Weekly People" (New York).
- "Gaelic American" (New York).
- "British Columbia Federationist" (Vancouver).
- "Maoriland Worker" (New Zealand).
- "Civil Service Socialist" (London).
- "Freedom" (London).
- "Cotton's Weekly" (Canada).
- "Appeal to Reason" (Kansas).
- "Industrial Union News" (Detroit).
- "The Socialist" (Melbourne).
- "The Western Clarion" (Vancouver).
- "International News Letter" (Berlin).

RECEIVED.

- "The World of Labour," by G. D. H. Cole. London: G. Bell & Sons. 5s. nett. (Will be reviewed next month.)

- "The Future of the Woman's Movement," by Mrs. H. M. Swanwick. London: G. Bell & Sons. 2s. 6d. nett.

Why should he? Is this a feature of the labour movement that he had not heard of before? Surely not! When asked for proof he said:

"I can prove that the "Morning Post" paid Philip Snowden for writing a special column about the sympathetic strike, and I can also prove that I was offered the same terms, and further, I can prove that the "Evening News" of London offered to pay whatever I demanded to put forward my methods and policy in the columns of a Conservative newspaper."

(Manchester Guardian 13.10.13.)

Who said strikes didn't pay?

* * *

Speaking at Oldham on October 26th, Mr. W. C. Robinson, prospective Labour candidate for the division, said: "Workers ought to be compelled by law to become members of a trade union." Why not shove it in the programme of the Labour Party as one of those things that ought to be "nationalised"?

At the same meeting the brutal methods of the police during the Dublin strike was commented upon—a strike, mind you, created by the avowed determination of the masters, and aided by the law, to smash trade unionism!

* * *

During the recent municipal elections the Values League submitted the following proposition to all candidates in the Manchester and Salford area:

"The transference of the cost of such national services as poor relief, education, police, and asylums from the local rates on to the national exchequer; a fund for such purposes to be provided by a Budget tax on all land values."

Although this is obviously and essentially a capitalist proposition, it nevertheless obtained the unqualified approval of the I.L.P. candidates!

* * *

Among the many resolutions passed by the various organisations in condemnation of the Aisgill verdict the following is worth reproducing. It goes further than all the silly twaddle that has been uttered. It was passed by the Chopwell Lodge of the Durbar Miners' Federation (31.10.13).

"This lodge views with sincere appreciation the tender solicitude of the Government and its judges for the susceptibilities of the Midland Railway Co., whose poverty enables them to provide a better class of coal and sufficient oil for their express trains, or to incur the terrible expense of providing a pilot engine to assist an overloaded train up the steep incline at Aisgill, which train, as was expected, stuck fast before reaching the top, and was subsequently struck in the rear by another train, whose driver, with demoniacal cleverness, had succeeded in getting his train up the incline at almost full speed with the same necessarily cheap working material."

"We further applaud the action of the learned judge, whose pathetic anxiety for the welfare of the travelling public, and incidentally the railway company, moved him to sentence Driver Caudle to two months imprisonment for his criminal inability to do more than five things at once."

"We are also of opinion that the fireman was deserving of at least three months for having failed to make coal at 3s. 1d. do the work of 1s. 8d. per head per week to keep people in the workhouse, while under the proposed scheme it would cost only 8s. 8d. "to keep the old people in dignity and freedom."

The main point, however, was that it was estimated to save "the country" a matter of £585,000 a year on the transaction.

As the "saving" of this can only mean that it will be shifted from the pockets of one section of the capitalist class to the pockets of another section, or naturally wants to know why Labour M.P.s should support it. Where are the workers' interests served in a case like this? Do they think they are doing the aged persons in the workhouse a good turn by lowering their cost of maintenance by 5s. a week?

TOM SALA.

"The Dublin strikers have had to fight the whole Press of Ireland, without distinction of party." (Daily Chronicle, 17.11.13.)

This bears out our position exactly with reference to the class struggle.

SOCIALISM

versus

TARIFF + REFORM.

BEING A REPORT OF

A DEBATE

BETWEEN

J. FITZGERALD, representing S.P.G.B.

AND

MR. SAMUEL SAMUELS, prospective Conservative candidate for Wandsworth

Post Free

amber and— I mean a real clay pipe and a packet of tobacco, ornamented with the royal arms and bearing the inscription: "From His Majesty the King, October 31, 1913."

Rather unfortunate, though, that the King was unable to be present. The picture would have been complete. What's that you say? Because they were working men? "Ssh!" Perish the thought!

* * *

An unusually pathetic case was reported in the Press recently, pathetic enough to seize the last ymial glance of a stone image into working overtime. I refer to the report of the death of Mr. Edward Morris, head of the Chicago firm of Morris & Co., who died through overwork (sic). His firm was among those indicted by the U.S. Government in the Beef Trust case. He is believed to have left a fortune of somewhere about £8,000,000. No wonder it killed him! He must have worked damned hard! Why, I have known men work hard all their lives up to old age, and yet not possess eight *peaces* to bleed it with.

"There's something rotten in the State of Denmark!"

* * *

At the Reading bye-election last month the Independent Labour Party unanimously endorsed the candidature of Mr. J. G. Butler, of the B.S.P. Mr. Butler in return pledged to associate himself with the Parliamentary Labour Party in the event of his election. These organisations are erstwhile "foes," but both have conveniently discovered that they stand for the same thing. "Two minds with but a single thought."

* * *

Probably one reason why Mr. Lloyd George was so sanguine of the success of his latest anesthetic was because he could count on its complete assimilation by the Labour Party and its supporters. Whether it be Home Rule or Old Age Pensions, State Insurance, or any other old thing (in the way of dole) it is received by the Labour Party with acclamation. One of the latest is "State cottages for the aged." At its inauguration in London on November 9th, Mr. G. N. Barnes, who was very much to the front, pointed out that, at the present time, it costs 13s. 8d. per head per week to keep people in the workhouse, while under the proposed scheme it would cost only 8s. 8d. "to keep the old people in dignity and freedom."

The main point, however, was that it was estimated to save "the country" a matter of £585,000 a year on the transaction.

As the "saving" of this can only mean that it will be shifted from the pockets of one section of the capitalist class to the pockets of another section, or naturally wants to know why Labour M.P.s should support it. Where are the workers' interests served in a case like this? Do they think they are doing the aged persons in the workhouse a good turn by lowering their cost of maintenance by 5s. a week?

TOM SALA.

How proud those Buckingham Palace workmen must have felt when the King entertained them to dinner at the Holborn Restaurant! How they must have congratulated themselves on the conclusion of the remarkable achievement of transforming an architectural eyesore into something just as ugly!

And at the close of the dinner each guest was presented with a real

OFFICIAL NOTICE.

All communications for the Executive Committee, subscriptions to the SOCIALIST STANDARD, articles, correspondence, and advertisements submitted for insertion therein should be addressed, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 103 Grays Inn Road, London, W.C. to whom Money Orders should be made payable.

The SOCIALIST STANDARD is published on the last Saturday in each month.

The meetings of the Executive Committee are held at the Head Office every Tuesday at 7.30 p.m.

TERMS OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Twelve Months, post free 1s. 6d.
Six " " " 9d.

The Socialist Standard,



MON., DEC. 1, 1913.

WEATHERCOCK ANTICS.

—:—

It is rather amusing to the onlooker to watch the little game being played by the rival labour "leaders." The "rise of Larkin," as was only to be expected, was not at all an agreeable spectacle to those others of his kidney whom he had for the moment eclipsed. The instinct of self-preservation roused them up and forced them to take up arms against the new "hero." Was it to be expected that they—themselves the big bugs of the labour world—would consent to play second fiddle (this mixed metaphor will be forgiven in Dublin where everything is mixed) to Jim Larkin? No! So they fall back on their "integrity" and declare that they are not in Larkin's band but in those of their members! What wages these trade union officials are! There is something excruciatingly funny in this sudden abasement and resigning themselves into the hands of the rank and file.

The humour does not end there, however. Larkin and Havelock Wilson engage in combat, and tell home truths about each other. And Larkin, who has also tried to impress us with his democratic amenability to the "rank and file," puts the seal of sincerity on all his professions by exclaiming (to Havelock Wilson): "Give your orders" (to the men of Dublin) "and I will countermand them."

The new light in the labour sky has begun to realise that the stroke of fortune that so brilliantly illuminated his figure will not sustain him for long, and that Dublin and the Dublin strikers must be the rock and foundation of his fortunes. Hence, with the power of the Romish superstitions staring him in the face, he hastens to swear allegiance to the faith, and says "a man who states that a Catholic cannot be a Socialist is a liar!" Larkin's genius for adapting himself to varying circumstances is further shown by his insisting that the struggle for Home Rule is a hundred times more important than the present struggle over wages and conditions in Dublin. One would have thought that the Dublin masters had pretty well convinced the strikers that there is no essential of Home Rule that they (the masters) do not already possess.

Perhaps Larkin objects to having been turned out of prison, where, under Home Rule, he might still have been enjoying the martyrdom that sat so gracefully upon him. Perhaps, however, a drowning man is clutching at straws.

SHEPHERDS AND THEIR PIPING.

—:—

SPEAKING on Social Unrest at the Baptist Union recently, the Rev. Newton Marshall said that "private property does not exist; it is God's property." Now we know why the armed forces are necessary: they are looking after God's property for him!

* * *

Mr. Marshal contended that "capitalist extravagance, ruthless exploitation of the poor, and other evils of individualism were hostile to the

Gospel ethics of Protestantism." But the capitalist evidently does not think so; he bears in mind the parable of the talents, and by no means buries his wealth in the garden or hides it under a bushel. He puts it out to interest: i.e., exploitation, as witness the following from Mr. Marshal's speech:

"No matter how the prosperity of our country increases the lot of the worker becomes more irksome every day. Our prosperity during the last twelve years has never been equalled. Last year our foreign trade increased by a hundred million, but wages to-day are practically where they were twelve years ago, although during the last five years the working-man's sovereign has dropped in value by from four and sixpence to five shillings."

* * *

The reverend gentleman quoted above is to be commended for his lucidity, a quality seldom found in divines. But the following figures tell the story with even greater clearness: they bear, too, the official stamp of the capitalist State, and those appologise for their hideous system can hardly dispute their own figures.

* * *

Taxed incomes financial. The total effect of the year ended March 1900 wage movement during the period of 1893-1912 has been a net gain of £67,000 1905 912,000,000 1911 1,046,000,000 per week or (assuming full increase in employment) £24,000,000 11 years 254,000,000 in a year. (The Board of Trade's report on changes "Daily News," 10.10.13) in rates of wages and hours of labour in the United Kingdom in 1912.

This is how the wages system works out for the wage-slaves. In spite of all the unrest, of strikes that have been common to nearly every trade and occupation; in spite of the "generosity" of the Liveseys and Leverys, who share their (increased) profits with their slaves; the working class, during nineteen years of struggle have barely increased their nominal or money wages (and "assuming full employment at that) by twelve shillings per head per year. And meanwhile the average increase per head of the capitalist class has been over forty-two pounds a year over a period less by nine years.

The lion of the Church Congress was the Bishop of Winchester, who discoursed on "The Principles of the Kingdom," the "Equal Value of Every Human Life" being one, which he proceeded at once to show has no existence by referring to "all those patient, toiling, and suffering multitudes who, from treadmill lives

unrelieved by change, uncheered by the prospect of better things, unbrightened by art and beauty, without margins of pleasure, and in constant danger of calamity and pauperism."

The equal value of every human life" a principle of modern society! What blasphemy against the truth! With "thirteen million living below the poverty line," and five or six million taking nearly two thirds of the wealth produced by the workers, to dissipate in idleness and luxury!

The capitalist system is the sink-hole of the ages for principles. It nourishes all that is false, mean, and sordid. Corruption and vice, adultery, robbery and murder are excused and defended by evangelical politicians and Christian pharisees who pretended function is "the moral education of the people."

* * *

Dr. Talbot, by faithfully portraying normal industrial conditions—without referring as he did to the white slave traffic and Putomayo horrors—might easily have discovered that "the equal value of every human life" is simply twaddle. Mine owners have the power to send miners down into pits "known to be fiery and regarded as dangerous," at the risk of their lives, for profits. Every capitalist concern places dividends first and the lives of their slaves second—or nowhere. The very fact that those who produce the world's wealth are nothing but merchandise, sorted and priced to suit the requirements of the capitalist market, gives the lie to the bishop's first principle.

* * *

With his next principle, if it can be called such, the bishop is equally unfortunate. "The

supremacy of love—the Greek *agape*, so untranslatable in the English tongue." And as he quickly proved, absolutely unobtainable in any capitalist country. But let the beershop speak for himself:

"Alas! that the power is illustrated with sinister eloquence by the effects of its absence, where class thinks of class, Capital of Labour, and Labour of Capital, in terms of general and indiscriminating aversion—when, in other words, two sets of God's people, equally human both in virtue and in fault, treat each other as though they were respectively the enemy."

Such statement disposes at once of the bishop's second principle, for every human being in modern society falls into one of these two camps. Two classes exist to day—the capitalist class and the working class. Between these two there can be nothing but hatred, because their interests are opposed in everything that is essential. "Material interests dominate all human actions," and when the workers demand higher wages or better conditions, the masters refuse to accede to the demand because it would affect their profits. The workers make observations and comparisons, then draw conclusions; class hatred is the result, and the bishop and the rest of his species are hired to pour oil on troubled waters—a task as hopeless as it is contemptible.

* * *

The growth of class hatred is the bugbear of political as well as ecclesiastic parties. Labour leaders refer to the class war as a shibboleth; but the antagonism increases daily, and the frequency of actual conflict on the industrial field gives them the lie. Dr. Talbot is not the only one that has discovered—perhaps by accident—what is already apparent to men of intelligence. Ten years ago to speak of "Capital and Labour" suggested a harmonious combination of forces for the purpose of wealth production; to day they are associated with strikes and lock-outs, and, as the bishop truthfully remarked, "think of each other in terms of general and indiscriminating aversion."

* * *

It is the business of the Socialist to see that they continue to do so; that the working class, at any rate, are placed in possession of the knowledge that will enable them to fight out the class struggle on scientific lines, instead of merely "kicking against the pricks," as they do to day.

Mr. Stanley Machin, speaking at a meeting of the London Conciliation and Arbitration Board said: "Industrial war is the greatest drawback we can possibly face, and we are coming to see that, whichever side wins, it must be disaster in the long run."

Let the working class bring about that disaster as soon as possible: it only means the abolition of the two things—capitalist ownership and working-class slavery. The human race will be none the worse for this dual abolition—on the contrary, it means freedom. For men and women can live and satisfy their needs without the division of classes that exists to day—one class incessantly toiling, while the other continually appropriates and enjoys the fruits of their labour.

F. F.

A CORRECTION.

In compiling the figures of the voters in the United Kingdom in the course of my reply to a correspondent in last issue, an error of omission occurred. The Inland Revenue Report figures relate only to the United Kingdom. An allowance therefore has to be made for Ireland.

Taking as a basis for calculation the method used by Mr. Chiozza Money in "Riches and Poverty" (p. 43 11th edition) the estimate reaches 35,754.

This must be added to the capitalist side of voters and deducted from the workers' side. The result will then be:

Total Electorate ... 8,058,025
Owners, Freeholders, University Electors and Capitalist Occupiers 1,867,970
Working-class Occupiers & Lodgers 6,190,055

The result remains substantially the same, the workers still remaining more than 3 to 1 against the capitalist class on the Register, but the figures are more accurate in detail. J. F.

THE WHITE SLAVES OF INSURANCE.

—oo—

"In the next few years we shall rescue, I hope, hundreds of thousands of poor people who are gradually sinking to the tomb in this terrible quicksand—that is what the Insurance Act is to do."

These words were spoken by the Liberal evangelist to the tailors of Aberdeen last November, and, with slight variations, are being repeated in the bye-elections now pending. The aim is to obtain the votes of working men by recalling "the great benefits" granted by the party in power.

Most of these concerns have had a vast and fruitful experience in regimenting and exploiting labour, and the knowledge gained of this experience is used with fine effect in the party of "preventing and curing sickness," and so on.

This body of exploiters, with members running into millions, employs at its chief office about 1,200 clerks. Forty per cent. of these are girls, and the others are mostly boys and "mankind in the making." Recruited to tend their suffering fellows, they form a study in bitter irony. The mass of them engaged after some journeying in the wilderness of unemployment, they are weakly in health and needy in pocket. Brought into the establishment very often by rosy pictures of the Jacob's ladder up which they may all climb to affluence and power, they have a slow but painful awakening—slow because the mass of them are stolid and unreasoning beings, products of the masterly mal-education with which our governors dose our class. With scarce a thought beyond football and skit hunting, many of them provide splendid material for a beaten and docile race of wage slaves.

Look at the "evils" that are to be remedied; carefully ponder the deepening distress, the anxiety and fear associated with the struggle to obtain enough of the necessities of life—and then examine the "remedy." The cure, boomed by men of power and ability, widely advertised amongst the needy and obtaining their suffrages—that cure should, at least, be above suspicion; it should contain within itself none of those elements or evils it sets out to abolish.

What, however, are the facts? The Insurance Act was framed by social reformers as a new and better agency, far removed from the sordid and cruel Poor Law, both in its administration and its provisions, to stop the hardships caused by the profit-inspired system that rules social life in our time.

One proviso should make that specially obvious. Introducing the Insurance Bill, Mr. Lloyd George laid stress upon the clause stating that no organisation whose object was profit could become an "approved society." Then, however, the vested interests that permeate both political parties in the present, were aroused. One vigorous supporter of the Liberal Party, the Member for Featherstone, Mr. Handel Booth, was greatly excited. He forwarded an amendment permitting the industrial insurance companies, such as the Prudential, whose *sine qua non* is profit, to come inside the scheme. It was, of course, a mere co-incidence that this gentleman was a director or shareholder in more than one company. It was of no concern that leading members of the Liberal party had large investments in profit making companies. When the Insurance Bill, thus amended, was passed, the erstwhile critics became enthusiastic exponents of the Act, and worked themselves almost into a frenzy defending the measure so near and dear to their pockets.

The mass of the clerks suffer from low wages, the average, taking it right through the 1,100 then employed, was not more than £1 per week. One of the revelations made there was that in a basement about twelve feet high, where artificial light is necessary all day, there are cabinets standing five feet high, tables stand on top of the cabinets, and clerks work at the tables."

"Just recently seven clerks, one of whom had previously asked five times for an increase without result, felt that their conditions were intolerable, and asked for increases in salary. To add insult to injury they were requested to resign or apologise for their impertinence in asking for an increase. In a moment of weakness they apologised, understanding that the master would end there. Then another insult was offered them and five of them preferred to resign rather than suffer more. The best paid of them, aged 22 years, was in receipt of 21s. per week. The worst paid, aged 17 years, was in receipt of 12s. for such responsible work as conducting correspondence (i.e., dictating letters to typists with out supervision)."

The introduction of the great companies for the purpose of working the Act had a vast effect upon the scheme. It brought the "death-hunters" right into the homes of the people. The distributing and collecting of insurance cards and books gave the agents "open Sesame" to dwellings formerly barred against them, and whilst negotiating State Insurance business they could easily, "don't you know," suggest "a penny on the baby." Thus a great increase in the number of life policies was witnessed, much to the joy of the life-gambling trusts.

The introduction of the great companies for the purpose of working the Act had a vast effect upon the scheme. It brought the "death-hunters" right into the homes of the people. The distributing and collecting of insurance cards and books gave the agents "open Sesame" to dwellings formerly barred against them, and whilst negotiating State Insurance business they could easily, "don't you know," suggest "a penny on the baby." Thus a great increase in the number of life policies was witnessed, much to the joy of the life-gambling trusts.

To show the immediate effect of the Act upon employees is, however, the main object of this article. The Labour Exchange and other slave marts were flooded with applications for clerks to distribute this "race and refreshing fruit" to the victims of modern society. In recruiting their staffs the companies showed that the so-called cure for the social evil was, if anything, worse than the disease. One might imagine that those "angels of mercy" engaged in administering benefits were themselves free from the hardships they were employed to remedy. The truth is that all the troubles that the Insurance Act set out to cure are suffered by the very instruments used to deal with them.

Take away the Trade Unions and Friendly Societies that are working the scheme—some of them presently to find themselves insolvent—and you are left with two groups of Industrial Assurance Companies which every day are encroaching upon the preserves of the small societies. One group is the series of societies

out the day. In this respect it is worse than a factory.

The young men and women must, of course, dress "respectably," and this eats up a great portion of their wages. Speeding up is reduced to a fine art, and the amount of work expected to be done steadily increases. The directors are ever busy developing schemes to increase the efficiency of the staff as profit making machines.

But like most capitalists, they are too grossly greedy even to make a success in this respect. So badly are most of the clerks paid that usually one finds them showing more interest in some petty "side line" of their own than in their "work."

One may find them defying regulations under pressure of poverty, by selling sweetmeats, cigarettes, and postcards in order to supplement their paltry wage. Actually but little interest is displayed, and largely on account of the nature of the work. Handling and entering insurance cards coming, maybe, from some poor consumptive—of whom there are nearly half a million insured—and laden with disease, this work inspires no enthusiasm.

When we consider the potency of so many human beings, and then watch them wasting their lives in such bitter, useless service, feeding the fires of misery and poverty; when we appreciate the fact that the sum total of human squalor and misery marches steadily on despite the sisyphean labour of these poor hirelings; then we need never be surprised to learn the humdrum nature of the toil to its victims.

So far as they are able the insurance magnates do their best to reduce expenses—and so worsen conditions. Of late a campaign has been waged—now nearing victory—to introduce the six months card instead of the quarterly one. Thus they hope to cut down by nearly a half the work and the workers. Instead of entering, checking, and registering cards every quarter, it need only be done twice a year. Competition for jobs, reinforced by the dismissed victims of economic working, will be keener, and thus worse, not better, conditions are the promise of the future.

Often the threat is made that unless the males work harder they will be supplanted by girls—unsavoury though much of the work undoubtedly is.

The Trade Union advises industrial organisation, and strikes are rumoured continually, but cessation of work will not emancipate the clerk in these establishments any more than it will the workers elsewhere. The workers need education in their status as a class, the cause of their conditions and the remedy, far more than any impulsive striking, with the inevitable return to work under worsened conditions for those not actually victimised. The materials for their enlightenment are all around them, and it but needs the removal of the false notions of the schools and seminaries to prepare them as missionaries of the coming social and industrial change.

The tragedy of the present social system can be grasped very easily by the State Insurance clerk. The mountains of empty cards registering the horrors of unemployment, the vast number of cards stamped to indicate that the owners get less than 2s. per day, the pitiful efforts often made by the hunted outcasts of this modern Babylon to pay up arrears in order to obtain the so-called benefits, the letters sealed with tears and proclaiming the writers' need for help and communicating their sufferings—all these must have an accumulated effect in dispelling the dreams of youth and the illusions of maturity, in other words, in making the clerks amenable to Socialist education.

That there is a terrible need for social transformation is shown upon every hand. Our masters, clever as they are in ways that are dark, are outpaced by their own system. They claimed to be able to measure by their actuarial tables the amount of sickness amongst the working class. But they now sorrowfully admit that they were mistaken, for the sickness claims put all their computations in the shade. There is far more sickness and disease amongst the toilers than they dreamt of, and they are now engaged in devising ways and means of lessening expenses, not of lessening disease.

The companies, by means of secret dossiers, are asking their superintendents to send in the names of suitable doctors reliable for the companies not on the panel who will act as mediators

refuses or examines for the companies. Then by means of bullying and browbeating in the manner of legal prize-fighters toward the unlettered, they will get the suffering claimants for sickness benefits to "declare off" the funds. What more need be said for this scheme than that it has received the benediction of Sir John Collie, knighted by the Liberal Government for his detective work for the L.C.C. and the insurance companies in connection with the Workmen's Compensation Act? The anxiety to brand the workman as a malingerer has even led the insurance trust referred to to appoint sick visitors to watch members of the staff on the sick list. All this is of a part with their work in practising espionage upon their employees while at work, by means of detectives on point duty at the desk, to see that the driven slaves of the pen look neither to the right nor to the left, but steadily and speedily calculate "ninepence for fourpence"!

In this article little has been said regarding the effect of Health and Unemployment Insurance upon the insured persons; but that will form the subject of a future article by

AN "APPROVED" SLAVE.

THE FORUM.

TAXATION OF LAND VALUES.

[To the Editor]

Carrie St. Quigley,
East London, S. Africa.

Dear Sir,—I should be glad if you would enlighten me through the medium of the SOCIALIST STANDARD, upon the subject of "Land Values"—taxing the land 20s. in the £. Would this not lead up to Socialism?

What prompted this question is a pamphlet which I have read entitled: "The Story of my Dictatorship," from the Land Values Publication Department, London.—M. FRANKLIN.

In dealing with the question of Taxation of Land Values it must be remembered that the advocates of this measure, from Henry George to Joseph Hyder, always assumed the retention of capitalism in all its other features.

Under such conditions there is no difference in principle between taxing land and taxing lace. Both are cases of the Governmental powers being used to take wealth from members of society for general purposes—as wise old Benjamin Franklin saw.

Taxation is, of course, necessary under capitalism, and the only question is, how shall the "burden" be apportioned among the taxpayers—the capitalist class. The land-owning section are quite sure the "burden" should not be placed on them, while the industrial capitalists are equally certain that they should not be called upon to pay. Hence the minor quarrel between them over taxes.

But under capitalism the joining together of these two sections into a land-owning industrial capitalist group is steadily increasing. For them the problem is solved. From the general capitalist standpoint the portion of wealth best able to bear the "burden" of taxation is land, as it disturbs the production and distribution of commodities—the great factor of capitalism—less than any other method of raising the sum required. Hence large landowners who happen to be still more largely interested in industry, favour taxation of land values, to the great bewilderment of "the man in the street," who finally explains a landowner being in favour of taxing land by the theory that he is "a good man."

Except, then, as an indication of the development of capitalism, and the concentration of both land and industrial capital into fewer hands, taxation of land values, even up to 20s. in the £, no more leads to Socialism than would taxation of toffee. On the contrary, it would merely be one of the steps in the more efficient organisation of capitalism for the benefit of the capitalists.

J. F.

A SECULARIST SIDE-TRACKS.

Mr. Rennolls replies as follows to the rejoinder of our comrade Le Cart in the October SOCIALIST STANDARD:

Sir.—Mr. Le Cart writes that "Secularism is this worldism in opposition to the belief in the existence of another world." On top of this he tries to argue that Socialism is *versus* Secularism. If he is correct, then Socialism is next worldism. In order to make things clearer he further argues that Secularism is a "religious" aspect of society and that "Socialism is anti-religious."

Taking the two arguments together, Socialism is both this-worldism and next-worldism at the same time. Secularism is next worldism only, and Socialism is *versus* itself.

As if this is not enough we get his state of mind in two further comparisons: "Secularism is this-worldism," and "Secularism is essentially nothing but a futile negation." Our dinners, and wages, and bosses, etc., are nothing but "futile negations."

We further learn that "Secularism is itself guilty of inaccurate mental vision." Then this-worldism is the product of inaccurate mental vision. If the vision was correct, Secularism would probably not see this world at all. It would "see" the "next." It would then cease to be itself.

The following quotation indicates Mr. Le Cart's genius for logical argument: "If it (Secularism) leaves room for misunderstanding and ill usage, it stands condemned as a proper means of education and enlightenment." I command this to the notice of the Anti-Socialist Union, which will now be able to argue that as, according to the S.P.G.B., Socialism is misunderstood and ill-used, it stands condemned as a proper means of education and enlightenment.

Mr. Le Cart does not know the difference between the meaning of "shaped and determined by" and "based on," for look at this sentence: "Religious ideas, however, being shaped and determined by social conditions, only exist as a product of the particular social system in which they are manifested, and as such are not based at all on the existence of another world."

The italics are mine. Religious ideas are based upon next-worldism. Religious ideas are shaped by social conditions. They are both based and shaped, but Mr. Le Cart actually argues that "shape" is "base," the building is the foundation.

One more illustration to show how much Mr. Le Cart understands anything at all. He argues that this-worldism (Secularism) is a narrowing down to one single aspect of society, viz., the religious one. Religion being of the next world, we arrive right here: This worldism is a next-world aspect of this world, that is, it is not itself!

Yours sincerely,
THOMAS RENNOLLS.

Mr. Rennolls, whose criticism of my article "Socialism v. Secularism" appeared in the Oct. "S.S.," loses his temper [Have removed all that sort of thing.—SCRUB ED.] without improving his case. On the contrary, it is worse than ever, for he gives way to misrepresentation, and once an opponent adopts such tactics all debate becomes impossible and useless.

He, for instance, ascribes the following sentence to me: "Secularism is religious aspect of society." I, of course, never said anything of the kind. A little further he tears a phrase from its context, as witness: "If Secularism leaves room for misunderstanding and ill-usage it stands condemned as a proper means of education and enlightenment." He leaves out the previous sentence, which gives this one its proper meaning, and in which I use the words "by its adherents." I quite understand that these words are troublesome to Mr. Rennolls because they make the phrase apply to that master class party that styles itself the I.L.P., and under the auspices of which he gives to the world a proper understanding of Secularism!

Apart from this, Mr. Rennolls cannot understand that, since I myself point out that Secularism stands for this worldism, Socialism can be *versus* Secularism. Well, perhaps he can understand that capitalism is very much this worldism; does it therefore follow that Socialism cannot be *versus* capitalism?

The only other point in this letter consists in the writer taking me to task over the following statement: "Religious ideas, however, being shaped and determined by social conditions, only exist as a product of the particular social system in which they are manifested, and as such are not based at all on the existence of another world."

such are not based at all on the existence of another world." He says that I do not know the difference between "to be determined by," and "to be based on," and kindly proceeds to explain it. Note how he does it: "Religious ideas are shaped by social conditions. Religious ideas are based upon next worldism."

Ye gods, what a revelation! Religious ideas and next worldism two different things! Take away religious ideas and you still have next worldism! Such is the gospel of Mr. Rennolls! I humbly thought they were one and the same thing. Perhaps he meant to affirm that religious ideas are based on the next world—but again this can't be, for, to him, the next world is nonexistent, and nothing can be based upon that which is not.

M. J. LE CART.

INDUSTRIALITIS.

REPLIES TO J. SUTHERLAND (Australia).

Mr. Sutherland says (1) "That political action as defined by Marx does not necessarily include Parliamentary action."

There is no ground whatever for this assertion. Political action is nowhere so "defined by Marx." On the contrary, his works bristle with references which indicate the opposite. Note particularly the chapters on the Factory Acts in "Capital," and the methods and measures indicated in the "Communist Manifesto." That Marx regarded the Parliamentary franchise as the very basis of working-class political action is shown by his organisation of an agitation for the suffrage where this essential for political action had not yet been obtained by the workers. Nothing can be more definite on this point than Marx's own statement in the following letters in the possession of the Editor of the "Neue Zeit" (English translation published in the "Social Democrat," May, 1902)

K. Marx to Dr. Kugelmann.

Jan. 15, 1866.

"We have been very busy organising a large meeting in favour of universal suffrage and at this meeting only working men spoke. The effect was very great and "The Times" in 2 consecutive numbers discussed the question in a leader."

("Social Democrat, Aug. 1902.)

Karl Marx to Kugelmann.

Oct. 9, 1866.

"The agitation for universal suffrage here, in which I have had a large share, is growing more and more."

(2) "That as Parliamentary action is useless unless backed by industrial organisations (capitalism only yielding to force), therefore such organisations can secure from Parliament all that is required, without being represented in the house of legislation, by strikes and direct action."

Muddled expression is the reflex of muddled thought. The force, without the backing of which Parliamentary action is useless, is not industrial organisations, but the armed force of the State. Since the armed force is controlled by Parliament, it is necessary, above all, to capture Parliament. Industrial organisations are powerless to secure anything from the State that the capitalists in control do not want to give, and it is ridiculous to assert that industrial organisations can, by strikes (i.e., self starvation) and by direct action (i.e., throwing stones at the police), overcome the armed force that is controlled by Parliament and obtain "all that is required." Every so called concession that the workers have obtained in that way from the State has turned out to be either a fresh shack or else Dead Sea fruit. No substitution of words or begging the question can hide the fact that to control society it is first necessary to capture its executive and administrative powers.

(3) "That as a man is influenced by his environment it almost always happens that working men elected to Parliament soon betray their class. The I.W.W. believe officials should only get the same wages as when at work at their trades, with, of course, expenses."

The environment of a representative of the workers is very similar in both cases. Betrayal of the workers has hitherto been even more common, and just as pernicious, in industrial as

in political circles. The cause is the same in both cases: ignorance among the rank and file of the toilers of Socialist principles. Knowledge means power, and with the removal of the ignorance that permits them to be led, the workers will effectively control their representatives, who will then cease to be leaders and become useful servants.

The lowness of salary proposed is simply a disgusting imitation of capitalist exploitation. So far is it from being any guarantee against treachery that it is a direct and powerful temptation to it.

(4) "A Socialist organisation admitting anyone except a wage-earner cannot be a class-conscious organisation."

This is no valid objection as it stands, since in a Socialist organisation the number of non-wage-earners would be infinitesimal that they would have to be sought with a microscope.

The all-sufficing basis of admission is the written acceptance of the principles of Socialism (which include the class struggle) and conduct consistent with the acceptance of that position. Such an organisation obviously cannot be other than class-conscious. On the other hand, since by means every wage-earner is class-conscious, any organisation such as the I.W.W., which admits any wage-earner, Socialist or otherwise, cannot itself be class-conscious.

(5) "That as members of Parliament have to take an oath of allegiance, and that as Socialists do not believe in God, King or Country, they cannot take the oath; therefore Parliamentary representation is not possible, if Socialists are consistent, under present conditions."

A pledge exacted by force is worthless. The highest capitalist authorities are unanimous as to the historical and actual worthlessness of oaths of allegiance. No one except word-struck I.W.W.'ites attaches any importance to the oath that is administered to members of the House of Commons. The oath is simply a capitalist defence, adding nothing to their power, and effective only against fools who attach any sentimental value to it. It would be an amusing solution of the social problem (for the capitalists) if all they had to do to prevent the workers capturing political power was to stretch a sheet of parchment over the door of the House of Commons. If an oath were of any use they would make us all swallow one on leaving school, and where would the weak-kneed I.W.W.'ites be then, poor things?

W.

CAPITALIST MORALS.

—o—

A DEAL of time is occupied on our platform in refuting objections raised by people who labour under the delusion that the Socialist proposes to introduce a system of society from which all pain shall be eliminated; a sort of paradise on earth. Our "Utopia" is usually described by these opponents as a system wherein the chief occupation of the people will be falling upon each other's necks in order to show their brotherly love.

Such ideas are, no doubt, generated by the twaddle of some of the semi-Christian fools who masquerade as Socialists in "Brotherhood Churches," and hang upon a few good natured, weak-minded old women of both sexes, who possess a little money and, oh so little sense.

To be frank, even at the risk of losing the moral support of the "uncle" guild, we must confess that the Socialist is but of human clay, little better, or no better, than his neighbour. He depends for the success of his teachings not so much upon the generation of "brotherly love" among the working class as upon their selfish desire to benefit themselves and their kind.

We have not to "wait until selfishness has been stamped out of the human race" for the realisation of our scheme. We have no expectation of being "born again" plus wings and minus faults, before commencing operations. We have no visionary ideas regarding a return of some mythical Christ who can with a wave of a magic wand exorcise all evil and leave mankind absolutely "pure and without viciousness and desire." It is not the Socialist who paints pictures of the future "buck navvy" with mine

importance, and the relatives on the maternal side inherited what little property may be said to have existed. All the wealth of the tribe or gens had to remain with the gens, and fathers could not pass their "property" down to their sons, who were of another gens or group. Paternal law was therefore necessary for the continuation and growth of private ownership, and paternal law was possible only by permanent marriage and exclusive co-habitation on the part of the wife. Hence monogamy.

So with all moral conduct. Among certain races it would be considered the height of immorality for one man to live upon the exploitation of another, but under capitalism that is quite moral and quite right. At one time a "lascivious" man is an exception and is classed as a rogue and vagabond. He is an "immoral" person whom it is right to scorn and imprison. To-day the majority are without an inch of soul. While at one period it is considered wrong to attack a man who is at a disadvantage, yet at another it is the order of the day.

If under capitalism one refuses to take advantage of another's weakness, and fails to clinch a bargain at the right moment, then he fails as a business man, and people, instead of admiring his ethics, call him a fool. The successful man of modern times is he who can take advantage of others in their weak moments and make money thereby. To corner wheat and hold a nation on the verge of starvation is considered quite moral by the same delicately stomach-ached individual who would vomit at the idea of one man killing and eating his enemy. Yet the latter process at one period in history was quite right and moral.

So, the Socialist does not base his appeal on some abstract idea of right; does not ask for support on the shifting ground of morality or justice. He appeals to the material interests of the working class, and endeavours to show that, logically, to support the present system is to support his own subjection and enslavement. We do not ask that slavery should be abolished just because it is immoral, but we do suggest to the slave that slavery is nasty, irksome, and foul.

We appeal to the wage-slave to join with us, his fellow wage-slaves, in an organisation to remove his chains and ours, for we know that he feels the weight of those fetters, though unconscious of the cause of his pain.

Once the working man does become conscious of the cause of the trouble, and the remedy for all his ills, then no vague ideas of wrong and right, no finely woven abstract theory of capitalist morality will have any weight with him; nor will he stop to impress the opponent with the justice of his appeal.

It will be a question not of appointing an arbitrator to worry over whose ideas are correct, but then, as now, those who have the power to enforce their will shall say what is right, and will compel obedience to their verdict by the force of their intellect and their arms.

That is the only deciding factor to-day. The capitalist class rule because they have the power to rule and their moral code is enforced upon society. The majority of the people are in favour of the present system, and, strange though it may seem, the workers themselves, the wage-slaves, give their voices in support of the system which enslaves them.

Without this support the capitalist system could not last. Without a willing wage-slave class capitalist society would crumble, and this the capitalists know. They are forced to keep the workers in the dark. They know that once the toilers realise wherein their true interests lie it will be short shrift for them and their system.

We, on the other hand, knowing the antagonism that exists at all times between the master and the slave, between the robber and the robbed, have but one object as revolutionary wage workers, and that is to show our fellows that their interest lies with ours; that they will benefit only by the establishment of Socialism, which will place them in the position of being masters of the world—masters of themselves.

When men recognise that they can only serve their best interest by serving the best interest of the community, then, being selfish, they will serve the community in order to benefit themselves.

TWELVE

S.P.G.B. LECTURE LIST FOR DECEMBER.

(LONDON DISTRICT.)

SUNDAYS.	7th.	14th.	21st.	28th.
Battersea, Prince's Head	11.30	C. Baggett	A. Barker	S. Blake
Edmonton Green	7.30	J. Roe	H. Joy	H. Cooper
Finsbury Park	7.30	A. Anderson	A. W. Pearson	A. L. Cox
Forest Gate, (Station)	3.30	A. Wallis	A. Hoskyns	F. Hughes
Hyde Park (Marble Arch)	7.30	R. Bruce	H. King	J. Ward
Hilford (station)	7.30	J. Le Carte	G. Seech	L. Lytton
Kilburn Priory Pk. Rd.	7.30	A. W. Pearson	A. L. Cox	J. Le Carte
Manor Park, Earl of Essex	11.30	S. Blake	A. Anderson	L. Lytton
Peckham, 41 Albert Rd.	7.30	C. Elliott	H. Joy	J. Brown
Paddington, Prince of Wales	11.30	A. Kohn	E. Fairbrother	A. Wallis
Soho-Serpentine, Bally Rd., Palms	12.00	J. Ward	A. Kohn	C. Parker
Tooting Broadway	11.30	A. L. Cox	C. Elliott	J. Fitzgerald
Tottenham, West Green Cnr.	7.30	H. Cooper	E. Lake	H. King
Watford Market Place	7.30	C. Baggett	A. Barker	J. Myles
Watford, 41 Albert Rd.	7.30	G. Seech	A. Wallis	C. Baggett
Waltham Green Church	7.30	E. Fairbrother	A. Wallis	A. Anderson
Walthamstow, Hoe-st. Stn.	8.0	A. Bays	C. Elliott	C. Elliott
Wood Grn., Jolly Butchers Hill	11.30	B. Young	W. Lewington	T. W. Lobb
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, Palatine Road.	7.30	F. Hughes	A. Hoskyns	E. Fairbrother
Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8.	7.30	J. Myles	W. Thorne	A. Barker
Kilburn, Victoria-nd., 8.30.			A. Hoskyns	C. Elliott
MONDAYS.—Islington, Highbury Cnr. 8.30. N. Kensington, Lancaster Rd., Portobello Rd., 8.30.			A. W. Pearson	H. Joy
WEDNESDAYS.—East Ham, The Cock, 8.30. Peckham Triangle 8.30. Wood Green, Westbury Av., 8.			W. Lewington	A. Wallis
THURSDAYS.—Tottenham, St. Ann's Rd., 8.30. Magdalene-nd., Earlsfield, 8. Giesbach-nd., Highgate, N. Queen's-nd., Dalston, 8.30. Ilford, Station, 8.			C. Parker	B. Young
FRIDAYS.—Chelsea, World's End, 8. Tooting Broadway, 8.30. Tottenham, Dowsett rd., Bruce Grove, 8.30. Harold Road, Upton Park, 8.30 North Kensington, Prince of Wales's, 8.30 p.m.			J. Myles	J. Ward
SATURDAYS.—Stoke Newington, Palatine Road. 8 p.m. Wimbledon Broadway, 8 p.m. Amhurst Pk., Stamford Hill, 8. Gravesend, Clock Tower, 8. Edmonton, Silver-st. Pk. Gates, 8.			B. Wilks	

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

HEAD OFFICE:

193, GRAYS INN ROAD, LONDON, W.C.

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

BATTERSEA.—A. Jones, Sec., 3 Mathew Street, Latchmore Estate, Battersea. Branch meets every Monday at 8.30 p.m. at Laburnum House, 184, High-street, Battersea, S.W.

BEDFORD.—All communications to R. T. Freeman 83 Britannia-nd.

CENTRAL.—Membership obtained only through the Executive Committee. Applications should be sent to the General Secretary.

EAST HAM.—Communications to Sec., at Hartley-Ave. School, Wakefield-st., where Branch meets alternate Tuesdays at 8.30 p.m.

EDMONTON.—F. Hawes, Secy., 30, Asco Road, Edmonton. Branch meets every Saturday at 7.30 at the Orphanage Schools, Church-street, Lower Edmonton.

FULHAM.—All communications care of Gen. Secy., 193 Gary Inn-nd., W.C.

GRAVESEND.—Communications to Secretary care of 2, Milton-nd., Gravesend.

ILFORD.—W. Holt Secretary, 3 George Street, Barking. Branch meets alternate Sundays at Empire Cafe, Ilford Lane.

KILBURN.—E. Turner, Sec., 2 Bradistone-nd. Branch meets Thursdays at 8.30 at Edward's Coffee Rooms, 69 High-nd., Kilburn (side door).

ISLINGTON.—Communications to Secretary, 144, Seven Sisters-road, Holloway, N. where Branch meets every Wednesday at 8.

MANCHESTER.—J. Brough, Sec., 127 Beresford-st., Most Side, M'chester. Branch meets Lockhart's Cafe, opposite the "Palace," Oxford Street, and at 4th Thursdays at 8. Public invited.

MARYLEBONE.—A. Kohn, Sec., 24, Carbuncle-street, W. Branch meets Saturdays at 7.30, at Bennett's Restaurant, 82 Lisson-grove, N.W.

NOTTINGHAM.—L. Shearstone, Sec., 4 Balfour-nd., Nottingham. Branch meets 1st & 3rd Suns. at 11.30, at 20 Radcliffe St., Meadows.

PADDINGTON.—Communications to Secy., J. W. Cheeseman, 189, Portman-nd., Maida Hill, W. Branch meets Thurs., 8.30 p.m. at 381, Harrow Road, W. (side door).

PECKHAM.—Branch premises, 41 Albert-nd., Queen's-nd., Peckham, where Branch meets every Mon. at 8.30. Open every evening for meetings and discussions.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.—Communications to Secy., Aaklen House, School, 156 York-nd., where Branch meets Sundays at 10.30 a.m.

STOKE NEWINGTON.—A. Clarke, Secretary, 8a, Mildmay-road, Newington Green. Branch meets Mons. 8.15 at 10a, Farnleigh-nd.

TOOTING.—W. Mason, Sec., 94 Russell-nd., Wimbledon. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8.30, at Terminus Social Club (near Merton Tram Terminus, High-st., Tooting).

TOTENHAM.—W. Lewington, Sec., 86 Rangemoor Rd. Branch meets Mons. at 8 at 244, High-nd., Tottenham. Rooms open every evening.

WALTHAMSTOW.—D. J. Lloyd, Sec., 48, Badlins road. Branch meets alt' Mondays at 8.30 at the Workman's Hall 84, High-st.

WATFORD.—A. Lawson, Sec., 74 Kensington-ave. Branch meets Wednesdays at 8 p.m. at King

Street, Public discussion at 8.45.

WEST HAM.—All communications to J. E. Storey 65, Boleyn-nd., Forest Gate, E. Branch meets alternate Mons. 7.30, at Boleyn Dining Rooms, 459, Green St., Upton Park.

WOOD GREEN.—C. Revelle, Secretary, 228, High Rd., Wood Green. From Aug. 4 Branch meets alternate Mondays at 8.30, at School Hall, Brook-nd., Wood Green.

SECOND EDITION.

SOCIALISM & RELIGION.

The Party's pronouncement on this interesting subject

This new edition of this useful work is enlarged to 48 pages, and contains a preface.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

From Handicraft to Capitalism,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

POST FREE - - - - 1½d.

THE WORKING CLASS,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

THE CAPITALIST CLASS,

By KARL KAUTSKY.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

MANIFESTO

OF THE

SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

Fifth Edition with preface

Explains the Party's position toward the S.D.P., I.L.P., Fabian Society, Trade Unions, S.L.P., etc.

Post free 1½d. per copy from the S.P.G.B. 193, Grays Inn-road, London W.C.

ART LABOUR, AND SOCIALISM

By WILLIAM MORRIS.

Post Free - - - - 1½d.

SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC,

By F. ENGELES.

Price 6d. Post Free 7d.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

OBJECT.

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

Declaration of Principles

THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain

HOLDS—

THAT society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class, by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

THAT in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce and those who produce but do not possess.

THAT this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

THAT as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom, the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind, without distinction of race or sex.

THAT this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

THAT as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

The SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be brought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP.

10/-

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party, should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA.

PROPAGANDA MEETINGS

ARE HELD

EVERY SUNDAY as under:

MARINE (PARADE AT 11.15 a.m., OUTSIDE TECHNICAL SCHOOL AT 7.30 p.m.)

THE "SOCIALIST STANDARD."

Bound in Cloth.

3 YEARS IN ONE VOL. - - 5/- post free.
SINGLE YEAR VOL. - - 3/- " "

Printed by A. JACOBS, Globe Press, Forest Lane, Stratford, for the Proprietors, THE SOCIALIST PARTY of Great Britain, and Published at 193, Grays Inn Road, London, W.C.